



## Over dit boek

Dit is een digitale kopie van een boek dat al generaties lang op bibliotheekplanken heeft gestaan, maar nu zorgvuldig is gescand door Google. Dat doen we omdat we alle boeken ter wereld online beschikbaar willen maken.

Dit boek is zo oud dat het auteursrecht erop is verlopen, zodat het boek nu deel uitmaakt van het publieke domein. Een boek dat tot het publieke domein behoort, is een boek dat nooit onder het auteursrecht is gevallen, of waarvan de wettelijke auteursrechttermijn is verlopen. Het kan per land verschillen of een boek tot het publieke domein behoort. Boeken in het publieke domein zijn een stem uit het verleden. Ze vormen een bron van geschiedenis, cultuur en kennis die anders moeilijk te verkrijgen zou zijn.

Aantekeningen, opmerkingen en andere kanttekeningen die in het origineel stonden, worden weergegeven in dit bestand, als herinnering aan de lange reis die het boek heeft gemaakt van uitgever naar bibliotheek, en uiteindelijk naar u.

## Richtlijnen voor gebruik

Google werkt samen met bibliotheken om materiaal uit het publieke domein te digitaliseren, zodat het voor iedereen beschikbaar wordt. Boeken uit het publieke domein behoren toe aan het publiek; wij bewaren ze alleen. Dit is echter een kostbaar proces. Om deze dienst te kunnen blijven leveren, hebben we maatregelen genomen om misbruik door commerciële partijen te voorkomen, zoals het plaatsen van technische beperkingen op automatisch zoeken.

Verder vragen we u het volgende:

- + *Gebruik de bestanden alleen voor niet-commerciële doeleinden* We hebben Zoeken naar boeken met Google ontworpen voor gebruik door individuen. We vragen u deze bestanden alleen te gebruiken voor persoonlijke en niet-commerciële doeleinden.
- + *Voer geen geautomatiseerde zoekopdrachten uit* Stuur geen geautomatiseerde zoekopdrachten naar het systeem van Google. Als u onderzoek doet naar computervertalingen, optische tekenherkenning of andere wetenschapsgebieden waarbij u toegang nodig heeft tot grote hoeveelheden tekst, kunt u contact met ons opnemen. We raden u aan hiervoor materiaal uit het publieke domein te gebruiken, en kunnen u misschien hiermee van dienst zijn.
- + *Laat de eigendomsverklaring staan* Het “watermerk” van Google dat u onder aan elk bestand ziet, dient om mensen informatie over het project te geven, en ze te helpen extra materiaal te vinden met Zoeken naar boeken met Google. Verwijder dit watermerk niet.
- + *Houd u aan de wet* Wat u ook doet, houd er rekening mee dat u er zelf verantwoordelijk voor bent dat alles wat u doet legaal is. U kunt er niet van uitgaan dat wanneer een werk beschikbaar lijkt te zijn voor het publieke domein in de Verenigde Staten, het ook publiek domein is voor gebruikers in andere landen. Of er nog auteursrecht op een boek rust, verschilt per land. We kunnen u niet vertellen wat u in uw geval met een bepaald boek mag doen. Neem niet zomaar aan dat u een boek overal ter wereld op allerlei manieren kunt gebruiken, wanneer het eenmaal in Zoeken naar boeken met Google staat. De wettelijke aansprakelijkheid voor auteursrechten is behoorlijk streng.

## Informatie over Zoeken naar boeken met Google

Het doel van Google is om alle informatie wereldwijd toegankelijk en bruikbaar te maken. Zoeken naar boeken met Google helpt lezers boeken uit allerlei landen te ontdekken, en helpt auteurs en uitgevers om een nieuw leespubliek te bereiken. U kunt de volledige tekst van dit boek doorzoeken op het web via <http://books.google.com>

---

This is a reproduction of a library book that was digitized by Google as part of an ongoing effort to preserve the information in books and make it universally accessible.

Google<sup>TM</sup> books

<https://books.google.com>





# LATVIA

IN

1939-1942

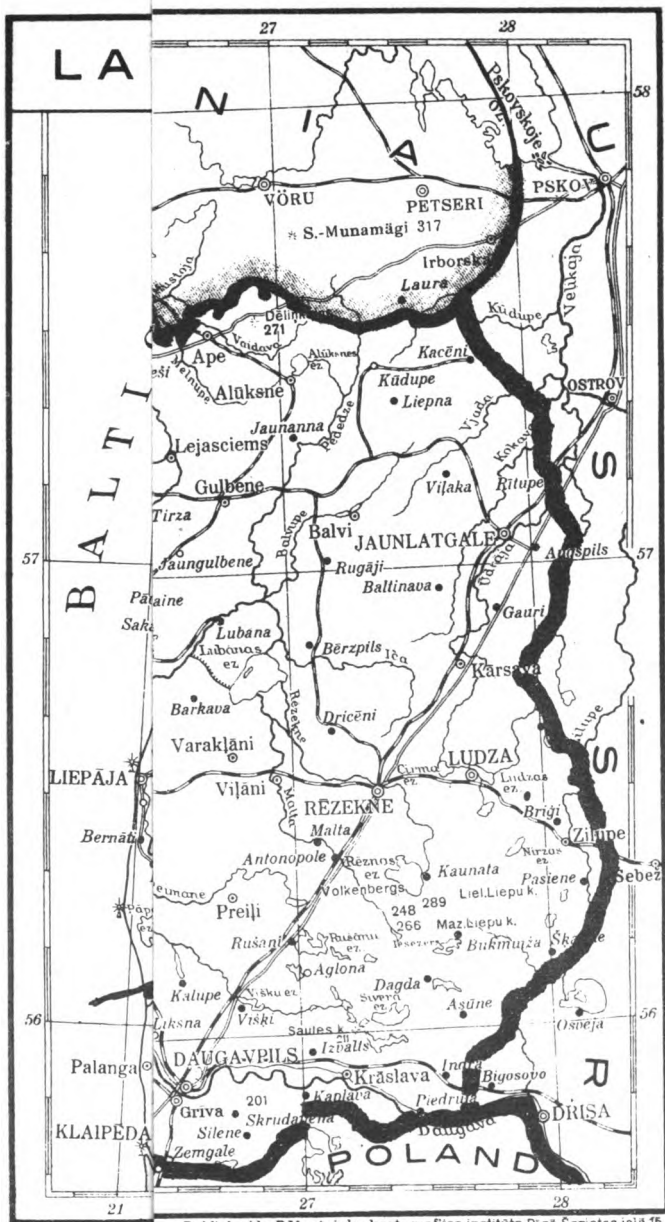


*In Memory of*  
**STEPHEN SPAULDING**  
*1907 - 1925*  
*CLASS of 1927*  
**UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN**

*Alfred W. Burrell 1927*

DK  
511  
.L1  
A  
111





Published by P. Mantnieka kartografijas institūts, Rīga, Sāpītes ielā 15





*Latvia, 1939-1942*

# L A T V I A

IN

1939-1942

**BACKGROUND BOLSHEVIK AND NAZI  
OCCUPATION  
HOPES FOR FUTURE**



Published by the Press Bureau of the

**LATVIAN LEGATION**

**WASHINGTON, D. C.**

**1942**

Printed by National Publishing Co.,  
1220 H St. N. W., Washington, D. C.

501870

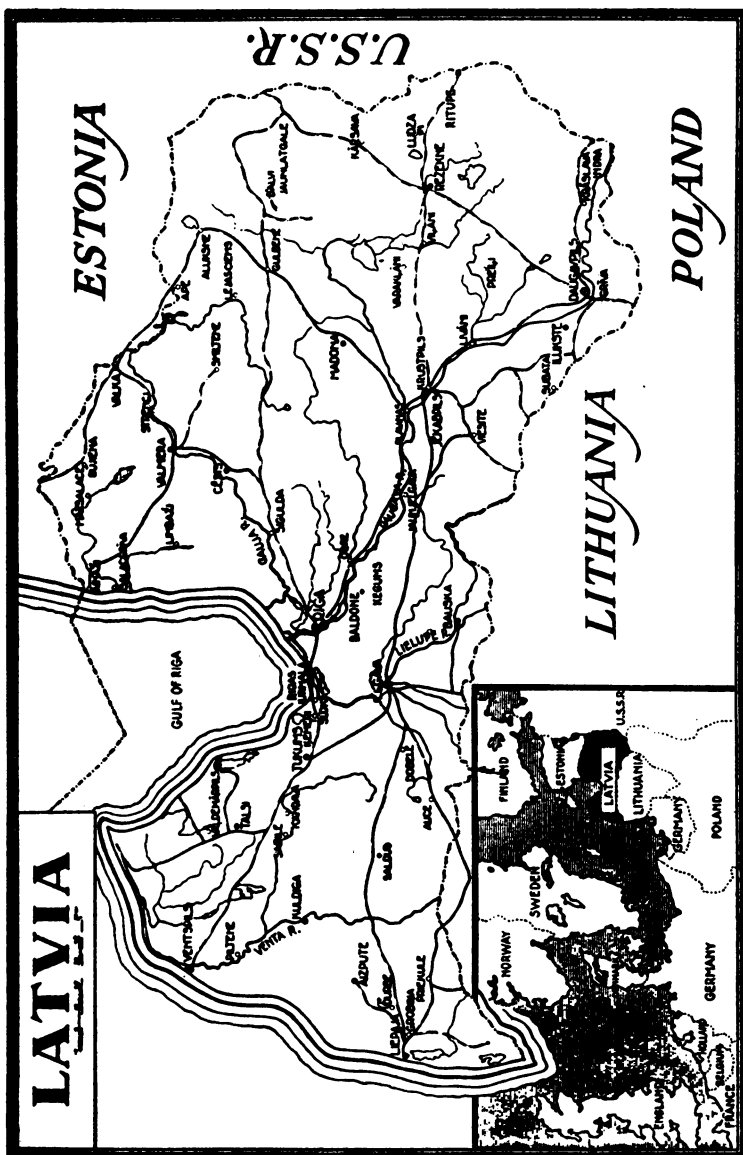


Stephen Spaulding from Cull  
Cul. Trus. M. Spaulding  
4-29-43



LATVIA'S GEOGRAPHICAL RELATION TO OTHER EUROPEAN COUNTRIES





LATVIA—ONE OF THE YOUNGEST REPUBLICS AND ONE OF THE OLDEST NATIONS OF EUROPE



# Contents

## PART I

CHAPTER	PAGE
I. General Notes About Latvia.....	1
II. The Baltic Sea—The Mediterranean of Northern Europe. By <i>Dr. Alfred Bilmanis</i> .....	5
III. Soviet Russia Occupied Latvia on June 17, 1940, by "Devious Processes".....	20
IV. Latvia Under Soviet Russian Occupation. (June 17, 1940—July 1, 1941).....	26
V. Bolsheviks Offer Unconvincing Apologia.....	31
Political-Historical Background of Latvia.....	32
Bolshevik Statement About "Territorial and Political Sacri- fices" Distortion of Truth.....	33
Latvia prospered and Was Economically Independent of Soviet Russia.....	35
Fantastic Insinuations About Latvia's Military Plotting Against Soviet Russia.....	37
Soviet Russia Flagrantly Breaks Treaties with Latvia.....	42
Polish Official Paper Calls Baltic Elections, Engineered by Bolsheviks, a Farce.....	44
Soviet Russia Wanted to Control the Baltic Sea.....	46
Soviet Russia's Propaganda in the Baltic States.....	47
Soviet Russia's Hatred Against Free Press.....	47
Soviet Russia Destroyed Potential Baltic Military Assistance Against Germans.....	48
Latvian Envoys in London and in Washington Condemned by Bolsheviks for Pro-Democratic Sympathies. (July 30, 1940).....	50
After All: Soviet Politicians Admit to Be Themselves "Politically Blind People".....	50
VI. Record of Most Important Treaties with Latvia Violated by Soviets.....	51
Bolsheviks Committed Shocking Violation of Sacred Rights of Latvian Nation.....	52
VII. Nazi Germans Follow in Bolshevik Footsteps. Vengeance of Fleeing Bolsheviks.....	53
Lithuanians and Latvians Overthrow Bolshevik Regime Before German Invasion.....	54
German-Nazis Suppress Latvian National Movement.....	54
German Nazis Claims Rights to Soviet Inheritance.....	55
German Invaders in Latvia.....	56
VIII. Soviet Russia Disregards the Endorsed Atlantic Charter.....	58
IX. People of Latvia Are Opposed to Communism and Naziism Alike Small States Not Responsible for This War.....	59
X. Freedom of Baltic States—Guarantee For Freedom of the Baltic Sea.....	60

# PART II

## Appendices.

	PAGE
Latvia—Source of Good Income for Czarist Russia	
Report on Russian Budget Revenues and Expenditures in 1913.....	64
Latvia's Struggles for Independence.	
The Origins of Latvian Defense Forces.	
By <i>L. Ekis</i> , Lieutenant of the Latvian Army Reserve.....	67
The Latvian National Council's Protest Against the Brest-Litovsk Peace Treaty and Intended Annexation of Latvia by Prussia (July 7, 1918)	78
Latvia Granted De Facto Recognition by Great Britain on November 11, 1918 .....	80
Soviet-Russia Renounces "Forever" Sovereign Rights Over the Latvian People. (August 11, 1920).....	80
Political Treaties Between the Baltic States.....	81
a. Treaty of Defensive Alliance Between <i>Estonia</i> and <i>Latvia</i> (1924)	
b. Treaty of Good Understanding and Cooperation Between <i>Estonia</i> , <i>Latvia</i> and <i>Lithuania</i> (1934)	
Text of the Constitution of the Latvian Republic.	
Adopted by the Latvian Constituent Assembly Plenary Session of February 15, 1922 .....	85
Recognition of Latvia by the United States of America.	
Text of Statement (July 28, 1922).....	93
Report of <i>Mr. V. Munters</i> , Latvian Foreign Minister, About the Conversations in the Kremlin Previous to Signing the Mutual Assistance Treaty (October 2, 1939).....	95
Mutual Guarantees.	
Pact of Mutual Assistance Between Latvia and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (October 5, 1939).....	103
Power of Attorney (May 18, 1940).....	105
Latvian Official Dementi of Groundless Soviet Russian Accusations (June 15, 1940).....	106
Soviet Russian Ultimatum to Latvia (June 16, 1940).....	106
Protest of <i>K. Zarins</i> , Latvian Minister in London, Against Incorporation of Latvia in U. S. S. R. (July 23, 1940).....	106
Statement of <i>Dr. Alfred Bilmanis</i> , Latvian Minister, About not Recognizing the Saeima Elections in Latvia to be Held on July 14-15, 1940, as Being Illegal and Unconstitutional.....	110
Released to the Press on July 13, 1940.	
Latvia—A Victim of Unprovoked Aggression of Soviet Russia.	
Statement by <i>Dr. Alfred Bilmanis</i> , Latvian Minister in Washington Released to the Press on July 21, 1940.	111
Statement of Undersecretary of State, The Honorable Sumner Welles... Released to the Press on July 23, 1940.	114
The Latvian Minister in Washington Does Not Recognize Incorporation of Latvia Into the Soviet Union.....	115
Released to the Press on August 6, 1940.	
Note of the Latvian Minister in Washington, Delivered on January 12, 1941, to the Representative of Germany in Washington in Protest Against the German-Soviet Russian Frontier Agreement Signed on January 10, 1941, in Moscow.....	116



	PAGE
<b>American Sympathies to The Baltic States.</b>	
Statement of Governor H. H. Lehman and others (June 15, 1941) ..	117
<b>Bolsheviks Deported Latvian Intellectuals for Political Reasons-----</b>	120
<b>Statement of the Latvian Minister in Washington Regarding the     German-Russian War -----</b>	122
Released to the Press on June 25, 1941.	
<b>Declaration of Principles, Known as the Atlantic Charter, by the Presi-     dent of the United States of America and the Prime Minister of the     United Kingdom, August 14, 1941 -----</b>	123
Declaration by United Nations-----	124
<b>Latvia Supports the Principles of the Anti-Axis Declaration.</b>	
Statement of the Latvian Minister in Washington. Released to the Press on January 4, 1942-----	125
Soviet Government Endorsed the Atlantic Charter. Text of Treaty of Alliance with Iran of January 29, 1942-----	126
<b>Rights to Freedom of Every Nation—Universal Principle.</b>	
(Extract from The Honorable Sumner Welles' Decoration Day Speech, on May 30, 1942)-----	127
<b>Small Countries Have the Right to Live.</b>	
Address Made by His Excellency The Minister of Foreign Affairs of Luxembourg, Mr. Joseph Bech, before the Committee on Foreign Affairs, Wednesday, June 3, 1942-----	128
<b>Status of Austria. Announcement of Department of State on July 27, 1942</b>	129
<b>Statement of Hon. F. Biddle, Attorney General of the United States     (July 21, 1942)</b>	
History of the Communist Party—Its Aims and Purposes-----	130
<b>General-Directorate Imposed on Latvia by Nazi-Germans—Illegal, Null     and Void and Violates Sovereign Rights of Latvia.</b>	
Statement of the Latvian Minister in Washington-----	133
Released to the Press on July 28, 1942.	
<b>The Latvian World Alliance -----</b>	135
<b>Latvian Relief, Inc. -----</b>	136
<b>Bibliography in English-----</b>	137





RIGA, THE CAPITAL OF LATVIA

## PART I

### CHAPTER I

#### GENERAL NOTES ABOUT LATVIA

**T**HOUGH *Latvia* is a rather new name on the political map of Europe, it represents a democratic state with a republican constitution, situated on the southeastern shores of the Baltic Sea and inhabited by the homogenous nation of the Latvians for several thousands of years.

Together with the republic of *Lithuania* (2.4 million) to the south, and *Estonia* (1.25 million) to the north, *Latvia*, with a population of 2 million belongs to the group of the Central Baltic States, the natural guardians of the freedom of the Baltic Sea.

The *Latvia* of our times is the heir: of the independent medieval Archbishopric *Terra Mariana*, or the Land of St. Mary (1207-1561); of the Duchy of *Kurland* and *Semigallia* (1561-1795), which emanated from the Land of St. Mary, and of the Province of *Livonia*, which, in 1600, came under Swedish humanitarian rule, and was occupied by the Muscovites in 1721.

The present-day Latvians are the descendants of the Kuronians, Latigallians, Semigallians, Selonians and Talavians, mentioned in Icelandic-Scandinavian sagas and medieval chronicles. Sometimes they were also called Livonians after the province of Livonia, inhabited partly by Livs, a tribe akin to the Finns and at present assimilated by Latvians. All these different Latvian tribes spoke the same Latvian language and finally became blended into one homogenous nation, conscious of its racial and cultural unity. All territories inhabited by them became united in one state under the name of *Latvia*. Sometimes one encounters the forms "Letts" and "Lettland", but these are out of place in English context, since they are taken from the German. The English versions "*Latvia*" and "*Latvian*" are officially recognized also by the American Government, and are used in treaties and diplomatic correspondence.

The area of *Latvia* covers 25,402 square miles. There are several countries in Europe smaller than Latvia, as: Albania, Belgium, Denmark, Estonia, Luxembourg, The Netherlands and Switzerland.

In size of territory *Latvia* approximates the combined areas of Massachusetts, Vermont, Connecticut and Rhode Island, or the combined areas of Belgium and The Netherlands. Twenty-nine per cent of Latvia's territory is covered with forests (mostly white pine), 28% with arable land, 26% with meadows and pastures, and 10% with peat-bogs. The Capital of Latvia is Riga, with a population of 340,000.

November 18 is Independence Day; May 15 is the National Unity Day; June 22 is the National Ligo Day (Flower Carnival); besides there are: Mother's Day, Harvest Day, Reformation Day; 4-H Club Day; National Singing Festivals at 5 years intervals.

The Latvian flag is crimson-white-crimson, in the proportions 2:1:2.

The Latvian Coat of Arms is a tripartite shield held by a red lion on the left side and a silver griffon on the right side, crowned by three golden stars symbolizing the three united provinces of Latvia; the Rising Sun on the shield is for Latgale, the lion for Kurzeme and the griffon for Vidzeme. The image of the Coat of Arms is imprinted on certain Latvian stamps, banknotes and coins.

Currency: the Lat, the rate exchange being one U. S. dollar equaled Lats 5.18.

The population of Latvia is truly indigenous and overwhelmingly Latvian. The Latvians are not Russians. National minorities enjoyed equal political rights and cultural autonomy.

The Latvian folklore testifies to a thousand-year-old culture. The Latvians possess about 240,000 national songs, their own distinctive ornaments and a national costume worn with a shawl. The average Latvians have a fair complexion and are tall in stature: they are purely Nordic.

Latvians are mostly Protestants, about 60% of the population belonging to the Lutheran Church; about 25% belong to the Roman Catholic Church. Religious life was free in Latvia. Also racial minorities enjoyed freedom of religion.

The family is considered a sacred institution and private property is the natural right of each citizen, subject, however, to progressive social legislation.

School attendance in Latvia was compulsory (from 6-14 years of age) and free; English was the compulsory foreign language and was taught in all high schools. Latvia had a university in Riga, several institutes, an Agricultural Academy, an Academy of Arts, a Conservatory of Music, nautical and other vocational schools, many museums and hundreds of libraries.

The Latvians have their own distinguished scientists, painters, composers, artists, authors, poets. Latvian literature is very extensive. The Opera House in Riga had a permanent classical ballet. Several symphony orchestras, many theaters and glee clubs adorned Latvian life.

About 70% of the gainfully employed were engaged in agriculture, 15% in industry, 5% in commerce, and the balance in fisheries, shipping, etc.

The chief routes (also air-routes) of Western and Eastern Europe meet in Latvia.

Besides the port of *Riga*, Latvia has the ice-free ports of *Liepaja* (Libau) and *Ventspils* (Windau). The biggest rivers—the Daugava, Gauja, Lielupe—are navigable. Latvia has more than 1,000 lakes and rich fishing and hunting grounds. In 1939 Latvia had a merchant marine of a quarter million tons. Regular sailings between America and Latvia were established by a Latvian shipping line in 1938.

There are 276,000 individual farms in Latvia, 86% of them being from 25 to 250 acres. Dairy farming, cattle breeding, grain, flax and clover seed cultivation are the more important branches of Latvian agriculture, although gardening, fruit-growing and apiculture have always had their place in Latvian farm life.

Rural electrification was gradually being achieved by the utilization of water-power. The Kegums hydro-electric power station on the cataracts of the Daugava is one of the biggest dams in that part of Europe.

Before the present war Latvia ranked second in the world market of flax exports, fifth in dairy exports and seventh in timber exports. The other chief articles of export were: ply-wood, match-splint, planks, boxboards, pulp-wood, twine, rayon, cattle, seeds, hives, casings, liquors, rubbers, matches, paper, glue, cellulose, yarns, glassware, pottery, chinaware, canned fish, candies, radios, photo-cameras and equipment ("Minox"—the smallest candid camera in the world), etc. Latvia's chief markets were: Great Britain, Germany, The Netherlands, Belgium, France and the United States.

The articles imported were: cotton, coal, fertilizers, iron, rubber, tobacco, naphtha, salt, soda, automobiles, trucks, dried fruit, machinery, typewriters, tools, etc.

The economic life of Latvia was, without any outside help, well balanced and stabilized upon the principle of a steady and gradual development and improvement. While many phases of Latvian national economy were managed by cooperatives or by state monopolies, sufficient scope was left for private enterprise: a truly middle road had been successfully established, with resulting social peace

and economic security. In 1938 the national income reached the two billion Lats mark. There was no unemployment in Latvia and the State operated on a balanced budget without deficits.

### Free Latvia's State Budgets

(Lats in millions)

<i>Fiscal year</i>	<i>Revenue</i>	<i>Expenditure</i>	<i>Surplus</i>	<i>Deficit</i>
1934-35 -----	139.1	139.6	--	0.5
1935-36 -----	150.9	146.8	4.1	--
1936-37 -----	163.4	157.2	6.2	--
1937-38 -----	189.1	180.1	9.0	--

### Composition of Revenue and Expenditure in 1937

#### *Revenue:*

Custom Duties -----	17.5%
Excises -----	11. %
Stamp Duties -----	7. %
State Monopolies -----	21. %
State Enterprises -----	15. %
Income Taxes -----	20. %
Real Estate Taxes and others -	8.5%

#### *Expenditure:*

Administration and State Institutions -----	32. %
Miscellaneous Grants -----	18. %
National Economy Advancement -----	10. %
Capital Investments -----	12. %
Defense -----	22. %
Miscellaneous -----	6. %

### Principal Accounts of Leading Latvian Private Credit Institutions in 1935, 1936, 1937

(Lats in millions)

	<i>1935.</i>	<i>1936.</i>	<i>1937.</i>
Deposits -----	60.9	97.8	148.5
Loans granted -----	60.3	84.9	129.8
Loans received -----	9.5	14.3	8.6

### Latvia's Foreign Trade

(Lats in millions)

<i>Year</i>	<i>Exports</i>	<i>Imports</i>	<i>Balance</i>
1934 -----	85.3	94.9	— 9.7
1935 -----	98.7	101.0	— 2.3
1936 -----	138.3	121.9	+16.4
1937 -----	260.7	231.2	+29.5

### Latvia's Balance of Payments

(Lats in millions)

<i>Year</i>	<i>Revenue</i>	<i>Expenditure</i>	<i>Saldo</i>
1934 -----	124.5	122.9	+ 1.6
1935 -----	135.7	131.3	+ 4.4
1936 -----	175.7	156.6	+19.1
1937 -----	316.3	278.7	+37.6

### Latvia's Foreign State Debts in 1938

(Lats in millions)

<i>Country</i>		
The United States of America -----	—	36.2
Great Britain -----	—	48.6
France -----	—	0.7

## CHAPTER II

### THE BALTIC SEA—THE MEDITERRANEAN OF NORTHERN EUROPE

**T**HERE is a certain analogy between the Baltic Sea and the Mediterranean: Both of them are surrounded by several nations—by riparian states. If one can speak about a “Mediterranean race” and cycles of Mediterranean civilization and culture, the same applies to the Baltic Sea.

The Baltic Sea is at present, like the Mediterranean area, the object of Nazi conquest and domination. The power which dominates one of these seas also dominates all the respective riparian countries. This holds also true in the case of the Baltic Sea. The freedom of the seas is the sine qua non of world democracies. The Atlantic Charter justly provides for the freedom of the seas, and, particularly, the peace of Europe requires that the Baltic Sea be free from the domination of any one power. The following pages will attempt to set forth the problem of the Baltic Sea, as seen from the point of Latvia.

The name *Baltic* itself is of Latvian origin—“balts” in Latvian means white. The Latvians and the other peoples surrounding the Baltic Sea belong to the Nordic-Baltic group of nations.\* There are seven nations dwelling on the shores of the Baltic: Estonians, Danes, Finns, Latvians, Lithuanians, Poles and Swedes. Germany and Russia are adjacent, and both of them are continuing the age-old struggle for the domination of the Baltic Sea. The oldest inhabitants of the eastern shores of the Baltic are the Kashubs (a Polish tribe), the (now assimilated by Germans) Old-Prussians, the Latvians and Livs, Lithuanians, Estonians, Ingrians and Finns.

The Latvians speak a language of their own which, like most European languages, is derived from Sanskrit and is classified with the Lithuanian language as the Baltic branch of the Indo-European family of languages. It is not a Slavonic language, nor is it Germanic. The Finnish, Ingrian, Estonian and Livic languages, while differing from the Latvian and Lithuanian, also stand entirely apart from Slavonic and Germanic roots.

The Latvians and their neighbors, the Lithuanians and Estonians, had already developed a social and political organization, based on agriculture, as early as the first century A. D., when the Teutons were still nomadic tribes. Throughout the centuries they retained the instinct and ability for self-government, and after long vicissitudes they reestablished their independent statehood in 1917. They traced their frontiers by arbitration.

---

\* Dr. Alfred Bilmanis, *Three Stars between the Anvil and Hammer*, Washington, D. C.

The Baltic peoples, as has been proved by archaeological excavations, are the indigenous pioneers of the eastern Baltic shores and have always maintained close contact with their northern neighbors—the Danes, English, Irish, Scots and Swedes. (The first Latvian Catholic Archbishop of Riga (1254) was Albert Suerbeer, the former primate of Ireland.) The Baltic Sea—the *Austrvāgr*, the barter route of the Vikings—was their common domain and was in no small measure responsible for the development of many cultural and economic bonds, which found their finest expression in the reestablishment of their independence, which was completed when the Baltic States achieved sovereign statehood after the first World War. The maintenance of peace, of social justice, private property, family life and of a high standard of decency in mutual relations became the common concern of these democratic countries.

The Baltic peoples were known as Nordics already to Greek and Roman geographers and historians. The famous Roman historian and geographer, Gajus Cornelius Tacitus, who wrote in the first century A. D., mentions in one of his numerous books—"Germania" (Chapter 45)—the Latvians, Lithuanians and Old-Prussians, all of whom he calls "Aestiorum Gentes"—the tribes of the Aestii.

According to Tacitus' statements, these "Aestiorum Gentes" dwelt on the eastern (he calls it the "right") shore of the Baltic Sea and spoke a language akin to some language spoken on the British Isles. They wore clothes and lived like the Swedes. They worshiped the Mother of the Gods (the Latvian "Dainas," or folklore, mention the "Mother of Forests", "Mother of Winds", the "Lucky Mother", etc.). They cultivated grains and other agricultural products, according to Tacitus, more intelligently and diligently than the Germans. They were also seamen. They were the only people that excavated and collected amber ("Glesum") upon the seashores. This amber was considered by the Romans a great luxury and was very expensive.

To the north of the "Aestiorum Gentes", or tribes of the Aestii, according to Tacitus, lived the "Sitones", evidently the Estonians, and the "Fenni", or Finns.

To these genuine Baltic States should be added also Eastern Prussia, situated between Poland, Lithuania and Latvia. This land—as it has already been pointed out—is inhabited by the Prussians—an indigenous population, which belongs to the same stock as the Latvians and Lithuanians. The invaders from Greater Germany conquered and germanized the land by methods of Teutonic oppression. Only recently—in 1938—the German Government ordered the germanization of the still remaining Prussian names of cities, railway stations, villages and rivers. In Eastern Prussia there



still live Latvians as far as Koenigsberg, and also Lithuanians and Poles.

These riparian Baltic States are internationally recognized as the guardians of the Baltic Sea as proved by the *Aaland Convention*, providing for the neutralization and disarmament of these Baltic Islands, which was signed on October 20, 1921.\* The signatories were besides Sweden, Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Poland, also Germany, Denmark, the British Empire, France and Italy, proving the general concern of Western Europe in the freedom of the Baltic Sea. Germany signed on behalf of East Prussia; Lithuania was not among the signatories of the *Aaland Convention*, because it was not yet in possession of the Lithuanian Baltic port of Klaipeda or Memel, held then by the French in trust for the League of Nations. Finally Klaipeda was ceded by the Conference of Ambassadors in Paris to Lithuania (in 1924), after a Lithuanian uprising in the Klaipeda district in January, 1923. The Klaipeda territory, a historical seat of Lithuanians, came under the sovereignty of Lithuania, but the port of Klaipeda or Memel itself was regarded as a *port of international concern*.

Soviet Russia also did not figure among the signatories and was not even invited to sign the *Aaland Convention* (incidentally—neither Germany nor Soviet Russia was invited to sign the *Klaipeda Convention* of May 18, 1924, in Paris). Soviet Russia, in the first place, has no coast-line of the Baltic Sea, except for the port of Leningrad at the easterly end of the Finnish Gulf, and Leningrad is not situated on historical Russian land: the already mentioned Ingrians, a people akin to the Finns, are the indigenous dwellers of this territory. This region has always been called *Ingria* and previously belonged to Finland. In 1703, the Russian Czar Peter I took Ingria by force from Finland and founded St. Petersburg (later Petrograd and now Leningrad) on the swampy mouth of the Neva River—as a port for Muscovy. Leningrad is an artificial Russian creation on foreign land, now inhabited by Russian sailors, soldiers, factory workers and government officials. The indigenous population of Ingrians still lives in the district around Leningrad.

It is worthwhile to note that according to the last official census of Russia, in 1897, Russia was inhabited by more than 160 different ethnic groups, who were dominated by the so-called Great Russians. These Great Russians themselves (according to the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 1937 edition) are a mixture of Ukrainians, Finns, Tartars, and Mongols. The Great Russians dwelling in the central part of the Great Russian plain comprised only 43% of the population of the Russian Empire and dominated the smaller nations by brutal force, although many of the smaller nations surpassed the Russian oppressor in cultural development.

The Princedom of Moscow, which was the kernel of the imperi-

---

\* See: League of Nations *Treaty Series*.

alistic structure of Czarist Russia, came into being only about the XIV century. But already in the XVI century Muscovy became a *force menacing* the freedom of the Baltic Sea and the Russian policy has remained imperialistic to the present day.

The Aaland Convention of 1921 put an end to the Russian attempts to dominate the Baltic Sea. The Aaland Islands, an important strategical key-point of the Baltic, were neutralized by this convention, which awarded their administration and sovereignty to Finland.

There is another menace to the freedom of the Baltic Sea—the attempts of Germany to make a “German lake” out of the Baltic—which antedate those of Russia. As early as the X century a part of the southeastern shores of the Baltic—sites of the Polabians or northern slavs—was occupied by Germans who founded there the merchant cities of Lubeck, Rostock and Stettin. In the XIII century the German Teutonic Knights were already in East Prussia and spread over northern Lithuania (Memel) and Latvia. In the XIV century the “Unio Hanseatica”—the German Hanseatic League of Northern Germanic cities practically dominated the Baltic Sea. The most important obstacle to complete German domination of the Baltic trade at this time was Denmark, which held the straits (Kattegat and Skagerrak) between the Baltic and the North Sea. But Denmark herself soon was forced to become a member of the Hansa. In 1346 the King of Denmark was compelled to sell his title to Estonia, the last out-post of the East Vikings, to the Archbishopric of Riga or Terra Mariana (Land of St. Mary), dominated by the Germanic Livonian Order, as subsidiary of the Teutonic Knights. Estonia, except for the Estonian islands which continued to be Danish, now became a dependency of the Archbishopric of Riga. It should be mentioned that the Livonian Order was the successor of the German “Brethren of Christ’s Militia”, which was exterminated by Latvian-Lithuanian forces in 1260. This Livonian Order, supposedly the police and defense force of the Prince-Archbishop, was a German camouflage and the actual ruler of the land. The Germanic Hansa was welcomed by the Livonian Order, especially because it created a common front against the Catholic Archbishop who considered the Holy See as his Suzerain. The maritime cities of the Terra Mariana—Riga, Reval and Narva—became members of the Hansa. The Hansa now arose on the shores of the Baltic, replacing the power of the East Vikings.

At the same time Sweden started to emancipate herself from Danish overlordship, and in the XVI century Sweden also struck against the Hansa.

On the Continent the mighty Polish Commonwealth and the Czar of Moscow also concentrated their political interest on the weakening of the Hanseatic monopoly over the Baltic trade.

So three powers now were opposed to the Germanic Hansa: Sweden, Poland and Muscovy. That was the beginning of the cen-

turies—long struggles over the “*Dominium Maris Baltici*”, an expression first used by the Polish King Sigismund II (1548-1572), whose mother Queen Bona Sforza, an Italian Princess, introduced him into the intricate history of the analogous Mediterranean Sea. In order to better oppose Germany and Muscovy and to prevail with his own plans, Sigismund had certain projects to create a great Baltic Confederation consisting of Poland, Lithuania, the Terra Mariana (Latvia and Estonia) and Finland. This project of Sigismund was furthered by the last secular ruler of Terra Mariana and master of the Livonian Order, Gothard Kettler, who appealed to Sigismund for help against an imminent Muscovite onslaught.

On November 28, 1561, a pact with the King of Poland was signed recognizing Gothard hereditary Duke of Kurland and Semigallia (two Latvian southern provinces of the Terra Mariana south of the river Duna or Daugava). For the promised help in the war against Moscow Gothard Kettler ceded to the Polish Commonwealth about one sixth of the Latvian province of Livonia. When Estonia was invaded by the Muscovite Czar Ivan Grozny, Reval or Tallinn, the capital of Estonia, submitted herself to the crown of Sweden, who occupied all of Estonia in 1560. This was the end of the Land of St. Mary—the Terra Mariana, which existed as an independent State under Papal suzerainty for 354 years (since 1207). The newly proclaimed Latvian Duchy of Kurland and Semigallia became allied with Poland and the Polish King the Suzerain of the Duchy; Livonia propria—the Latvian province north of the river Daugava—became an autonomous crown—province of the Polish Commonwealth. In order to enlarge and strengthen the common Baltic front against the German and the Muscovite, King Sigismund also needed an alliance with Estonia and Finland. He invited the Grand-Duke of Finland Johan (brother of Eric, King of Sweden) to a conference in Kowno. On September 12, 1562, King Sigismund signed an agreement with Grand-Duke Johan, recognizing him as independent and hereditary Grand-Duke of United Finland and Estonia.

In order to ratify this agreement Sigismund arranged the marriage of Grand-Duke Johan with his sister Katherine and gave her as dowry several castles on the Livonian-Estonian border. The marriage was celebrated in Vienna on October 4, 1562, with great pomp. After his honeymoon, Grand-Duke Johan returned with his bride to Finland and immediately was arrested by his brother Eric, the King of Sweden and Suzerain of Finland, who accused him of high treason. Johan and his bride were transferred to a Swedish island and held prisoners until the dethronization of King Eric (1568). After Eric's removal (he became insane) Johan ascended the throne of Sweden as King Johan III, and dropped the pact of Kowno. This new situation was instrumental in accelerating the final Union between Poland and Lithuania, which was accomplished in 1569.

Meanwhile, Czar Ivan Grozny (the Harsh or Severe, not Terrible) profiting from the unsettled situation occupied Narva and

approached Tallinn (Reval). His savage hordes devastated also the districts of Livonia bordering on Russia.

At the same time Czar Ivan engaged King Sigismund on the diplomatic chessboard. After unsuccessful advances to Duke Gothard of Kurland with promises to recognize him King of united Kurland and Livonia, on condition that Gothard accept a Muscovite protectorate and alliance against Poland, Ivan IV had better luck with Duke Magnus, the brother of the ruling Danish King, who was still holder of the Bishopric of Piltene in Kurland (a Danish foundation in 1219) and of the Estonian islands. Magnus fell for Ivan's promises, since he was opposed to Sweden and Poland and so came to accept Moscow's help. In 1570 Magnus was proclaimed by Ivan IV King of Livonia and crowned in Moscow. To strengthen the deal Magnus had to marry a niece of Czar Ivan. But Ivan had not counted with the people of Livonia, who detested a Moscow protectorate and Magnus did not succeed. Finally he was deposed by Czar Ivan and deported to a Russian monastery near Moscow (the Troize-Sergievskaya Lavra), where he lies buried with his wife.

At the same time Ivan worked in another direction. In 1567 he secretly approached King Eric of Sweden, trying to induce him to scheme against Poland. It was known that with the death of Sigismund II, King of Poland, the dynasty of the Jagiellons would be extinguished. A new king had to be elected—and Ivan was ready to come into the picture, especially because his mother was a Lithuanian Princess (Elena Glinska). In order to better his position before the Polish electors he decided even to marry the sister of Sigismund II—Katherine Jagiellonica. But she was already married to Grand Duke Johan of Sweden. So Ivan IV offered to the King Eric of Sweden (a foe of Johan) a "good treaty", in exchange for Johan's wife. King Eric had to force the divorce of Katherine from Johan (who at that time was imprisoned by Eric for high treason), and send Katherine to Moscow to become Czar Ivan's wife. Ivan was ready to divorce his own Russian wife (he had divorced several wives before). But the Swedish Riksdag violently opposed this dishonorable deal. Eric therefore dropped the negotiations.

When King Sigismund died in 1572, Ivan was unable to claim any dynastic rights to the Polish throne and, besides, the Poles were afraid of Ivan who was known as a tyrant. King Sigismund died without leaving an heir, who, according to the Polish-Lithuanian dynastic Union of Krevo (1385) would automatically become a Grand Duke of Lithuania, and who by virtue of being a Lithuanian Grand Duke, would become eligible for the Polish throne. Lithuania was already a part of the Commonwealth of Poland after the final Union of 1569, and the Poles felt free to elect as King any one they liked—they elected as their King the French Prince Henry de Valois, Duke of Anjou. But King Henry left Poland in 1574 to ascend the throne of France as Henry III. In the following elections Czar Ivan lost again and the mighty warlord of Transylvania, Stephen Batory, who married the second sister of late King Sigismund, be-

came King of Poland. Ivan's answer was an invasion of Livonia, but he was decisively beaten by Stephan Batory (the hammer). All the dreams and schemes of Ivan IV to become a Baltic power vanished, and he died in 1584 a broken man (he became a monk a year before his death in order to repent all his violences). Once in a rage he killed his oldest son—whose name was also Ivan and who was a youth of promise and character. After Ivan IV's death his weakling son Fedor inherited the throne of Moscow. Fedor died heirless in 1598 and the ruling dynasty of Rhurik, the Viking, became extinguished in Moscow. By the peace of Zapolje (1582) Ivan IV resigned from his pretension to Livonia, and by the truce of Ilusina (1595) Moscow abandoned also Estonia and Narva to Sweden. The victorious Swedish-Finnish troops occupied for a while even Moscow. Moscow's push to the Baltic Sea was stopped for more than a hundred years.

King Stephan Batory died in 1586, also heirless, and King of Poland became Sigismund III, the minor son of the Royal couple—Katherine Jagiellonica and King Johan III of Sweden. He ruled from 1587 until 1632. It was a glorious period of Poland's history. He was also the legal heir of the Swedish throne, and a mighty Polish-Swedish Empire could have been created if Sigismund had not neglected his Swedish interests. After the death of his father in 1592, Sigismund Vasa did not hasten to take possession of his Swedish heirloom: he was already deeply engaged in a plan to bring Muscovy into the Polish Commonwealth and to convert it to catholicism. The Polish Commonwealth included at that time all of the Ukraine, both sides of the river Dniepr, Podolia, Wolhynia and White-Ruthenia, far beyond Smolensk, within 93 miles of Moscow. And, most important, there was no ruling dynasty in Moscow. This opened to Sigismund the prospect of including Muscovy in his realm and becoming the mightiest Emperor of all Europe. Sigismund made, in 1599, an unsuccessful invasion of Sweden. The Swedish Riksdag opposed him by force of arms and the King of Sweden became his uncle, Charles Vasa, the father of the Great Gustavus Adolfus. Charles Vasa, the conqueror of Moscow, had been viceroy since the death of Johan III and had considerable success in extending Swedish rule. Already in 1600 he was in possession of all Estonia and Livonia. Profiting from Polish-Muscovite wars, Charles' son, King Gustavus Adolfus, took Riga also from the Poles (in 1610). Only the southeastern part of Livonia, Latgale or Polish Inflantes, was left to Poland. The Duchy of Kurland continued to be independent.

Meanwhile, Sigismund III continued his Moscow affair. In 1610 Moscow was occupied by Polish forces and the boyars, who themselves were tired of Ivan's tyranny and who hoped for more freedom, elected as their Czar Wladyslaw, the son of Sigismund, expecting to achieve the same status as the Polish magnates. But Sigismund did not allow his son to go to Moscow to occupy the

vacant throne of the czars—evidence shows that he himself had expected to be elected.

In the meantime, civil war broke out in Muscovy; Cossacks and peasants from around Moscow assaulted the Polish garrison in Moscow and overpowered it. In 1613 the boyar assembly of Moscow elected as Czar the son of a boyar—Michael Romanov. His father later became Patriarch of Moscow under the name of Filaret. The family of the Romanovs are of Old-Prussian descent. One of their ancestors migrated in the XIII Century from Prussia to Muscovy after the Teutonic Knights had dispossessed him. Through inter-marriage with families of Russian boyars the Romanovs became powerful. One of the numerous wives of Ivan IV was a Romanov (Anastasia).

After the defeat of the Polish forces in Moscow Sigismund's chance was lost: he could not raise a new army, the Ukrainian cossacks started to revolt against the Polish magnates who tried to make them bonded serfs. The magnates themselves became suspicious of Sigismund, who dreamed of becoming an autocratic ruler of Poland and of the new empire he dreamed of achieving.

Also Gustavus Adolphus, the great King of Sweden, opposed Sigismund's policy. He supported the group of boyars who chose Michael and at the same time worked for the election of his own brother. The merchants of Novgorod (incidentally Novgorod was then occupied by Swedish forces), still remembering the splendid epoch of the Vikings, proposed Grand Duke Charles Philip of Finland as Czar of Moscow, but he arrived in Viborg too late, Michael already having been elected.

Bloody Polish-Muscovite wars followed this unsuccessful attempt of Sigismund to merge Poland and Russia. A more or less lasting peace treaty was signed only in 1667 between Poland and Muscovy, but Poland had to cede to Muscovy all the Ukrainian lands on the left bank of the river Dniepr.

Gustav Adolph signed a peace treaty with Russia in 1617 and secured full domination over Finland, Ingria (the present site of Leningrad), Estonia and Livonia. Riga, the capital of Livonia, became then the biggest city in the Swedish Dominions and the Swedish rule was of particular benefit to the Latvians, who always remember the "good old Swedish days".

Instead of a Polish Confederation, a Swedish Empire arose on the Baltic Sea.

But the Swedish might started to fade when Czar Peter—grandson of Michael—succeeded in organizing a coalition against Sweden, consisting of Moscow, Denmark and Poland—all enemies of Sweden's growing power. The Livonian German-Balt landlords hated the Swedish rule which favored the Latvian peasants and these German nobles became traitors to Sweden by siding with Peter. After bloody wars, which immortalized the name of Charles XII (1697-1718)—the Hero King of Sweden—and only after the death of Charles, did Peter succeed in adding to his possessions the

southern part of Finland with Viipuri, Ingria around the mouth of the Neva River (where he already, in 1703, had founded Petersburg), Estonia and Swedish Livonia. The Duchy of Kurland and Semigallia still continued to be independent until 1795, and the southeastern part of Livonia—Latgallia or Polish Inflantes continued to remain under Polish sovereignty (until 1772). As a matter of fact, Peter did not use the port of Riga, because most of Russia's exports went through St. Petersburg. Russia neglected the newly conquered Baltic lands leaving the administration in the hands of the Diets of the German-Balt landlords. Peter confirmed their privileges in the treaty of Nystadt, signed on August 30, 1721, with Sweden, and the grateful Baltic German nobles became the most subservient subjects of the Russian Czar. The capital of Livonia, Riga, which flourished under Swedish rule, now languished for lack of foreign trade and soon became a small provincial town. Even in 1812, at the time of Napoleon's invasion, Riga had only 25,000 inhabitants. All the Baltic trade, as before, was conducted by the then impoverished Hanseatic cities or by the Danes and the Dutch. Peter especially favored the Dutch and even adopted for his merchant marine Holland's flag, changing a little the position of the stripes.

The Latvian-populated Duchy of Kurland and Semigallia became a Russian province only after the third partitioning of Poland, in 1795, and thus Russian frontiers with Germany became established to last till the first World War. Prior to that—in 1760—Russian troops had occupied Berlin and all of Eastern Prussia. Elisabeth, the ruling Czarina of Russia at that time, was the daughter of Czarina Katherine I, who was a Latvian and became the wife of Peter the Great and Czarina of Russia after his death. Katherine and Elisabeth had no love for Germany.

In 1761 the pro-German Czar, Peter III (originating from Holstein), came to the throne of Russia; that saved Prussia from a total defeat. Katherine II—also a German Princess—who came upon the Russian throne (in 1762) by a coup d' état against her husband, Peter III, made a bargain with Prussia and Austria for the partitioning of Poland, and on the dismembered body of the Polish nation these autocracies established their future collaboration of reaction and oppression.

Czar Alexander I signed the well known anti-French alliance of Tauroggen with Prussia in 1812. The Holy Alliance in 1815 followed. This friendship between Russia and Prussia endured till the end of the premiership of Bismarck in Germany. At the end of the XIX century the atmosphere became cooler.

After the construction of railways between the Baltic ports and the Russian hinterland, Russian agrarian export started to flow through Riga, Windau, Libau and, in a smaller degree, also through Reval. But Petersburg always ranked first. Russia started to build her own commercial fleet (incidentally the organizer of the so-called "Russian Voluntary Commercial Fleet" was a Latvian, Krishjanis

Valdemars (1825-1891),—also the father of the Latvian merchant marine and the founder of navigation schools). Germany's Eastern-Prussian ports were starving for lack of trade and a German-Russian rivalry over the Baltic Sea was in the making. Russia's might was growing.

In the beginning of the XX century, Russia and Germany became open rivals. Russia started to fortify Libau and build strategic roads over all Poland. Besides, Russia through dynastic marriages tried to become friendly with the Swedish and Danish Royal Houses and Russia's trade became more and more orientated toward England. In 1896 Russia signed an alliance with France. Germany decided to build the canal of Kiel in order to get free access from the North Sea to the Baltic Sea. Kaiser Wilhelm tried to cajole the Russians, offering the Russian Czar Nicolas II the Admiralship of the Pacific (1897), just as Wilhelm himself pretended to be the Admiral of the Atlantic . . . But Russia was beaten badly by the Japanese in 1904, was thrown out of Manchouria and lost Port Arthur, her important base in the Pacific. So, naturally, Russia turned back to Western Europe. Russia became eager for direct access to the Atlantic, because her position in the Baltic was menaced by Germany. Since then Russia made redoubled efforts to Russify Finland, and to develop the ice-free fishing village of Murmansk. At the time of the first World War Murmansk became one of the most important bases of the Allies and in 1918 the Germans made an attempt to occupy Murmansk, but were frustrated by Allied intervention.

The victory of the Allies in 1918 frustrated also the German attempt to dominate the Baltic Sea and the Baltic Sea became free and neutral and the Baltic nations regained their freedom.

In February, 1917, a revolution broke out in Russia—under the impact of war, and due to the spiritual and material exhaustion, the system of Russian czarism collapsed—the Czar abdicated, on March 13, 1917, for himself and his heir, Aleksej; also Nicholas' brother, Grand Duke Michael, renounced his rights to the throne. There was no more Czar of all Russia and consequently there was also no more King of Poland, Grand Duke of Finland, Grand Duke of Lithuania, Duke of Estonia, Livonia and Kurland, etc. All these non-Russian countries occupied by imperialistic Russian aggression now became free and proclaimed their own independence—the binding ties no longer existed: the Russian throne was abolished, and its successor, the democratic Russian provisional government, was disbanded on November 7, 1917, by the Bolsheviks, who at once offered peace to Germany.

Also the all-Russian Constituent Assembly, elected in October, 1917, was disbanded by the Bolsheviks on January 6, 1918. Furthermore, the Soviet Government ceded by the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, signed on March 3, 1918, the Baltic countries (and even the Ukraine and White Ruthenia) to Germany.

The Latvian National Council at Walka protested against the



Bolshevik separate peace with Germany and decided to continue the struggle against Germany and declared Latvia independent on November 18, 1917. Finland proclaimed her independence on December 6, 1917; Lithuania on February 16, 1918; and Estonia followed on February 24, 1918.

The aforementioned Latvian National Council was constituted on the basis of the law of self-government granted to Latvia on July 5, 1917, by Prince Lvov, head of the Russia Provisional Government. In September the Germans occupied Riga and the elected members of the Latvian self-government fled to Walka, near the Estonian border, where they met in a National Assembly.

As finally constituted in November, 1917, the Latvian National Council, or Assembly, was made up of representatives of Livonian and Kurland Councils, of the Latgallian Council, the principal Latvian military organizations and the various Latvian political parties (Agrarian, Democrats, National-Democrats, Radical-Democrats). In addition, it included the Latvian members of the former Russian Duma, members of Postal and Telegraph Trade Unions, representatives of Latvian Cooperative societies and of the Central Committee of Refugees and the Latgallian War Victims' Committee. The National Council, assembled in Walka, established a presidium, called "GALVENA VALDE"—the supreme Ruling Board—or supreme Government, with various Departments, including a Department for Foreign Affairs. Professor M. W. Graham \* describes the Latvian National Council as "the principal agency for the constructive expression of Latvian nationalism. The L.N.C. possessed great authority, internal solidarity and cohesion." The Department for Foreign Affairs seriously began the international activities of the Latvian Independence movement. After the Bolshevik coup d' état (November 7, 1917), it was clear to the Latvian national leaders that the possibility of continuing with Russia in terms of a federal relationship was gone. In consequence the Latvian National Council declared Latvia independent from Russia on November 18, 1917. This decision was officially delivered to the All-Russian Constituent Assembly on January 5, 1918, and read by J. Goldmanis (member of all Russian Dumas) on behalf of the Latvian National Council in his capacity as Director of the Department for Foreign Affairs of the Latvian National Council. The foreign Embassies and Legations in Petrograd were also informed. Following the dispersion of the Constituent Assembly on January 6, 1918, by Soviet forces, the Latvian National Council continued its sessions and made a further decision that Latvia should become an independent Democratic Republic, that Latvia should embrace all Latvian inhabited provinces—Kurland (under Kurland is also meant Semigallia, which in modern times merged with Kurland in one province), Livonia and Latgallia. The Latvian names for these provinces are: Kurzeme for Kurland, Zemgale for Semigallia, Vidzeme for Livonia and Latgale

---

\* Malbone W. Graham: *The Diplomatic Recognition of the Border States. Part III: Latvia*. University of California Press, 1941, Los Angeles, p. 403.

for Latgallia or Inflantes. The Latvian National Committee protested against all German attempts to annex Latvia to Prussia. The L.N.C. also protested emphatically against the Brest-Litovsk peace treaty signed by the Soviet Government on March 3, 1918, by which the Soviet Government ceded Latvia to Germany "forever" . . . \* It was decided by the Latvian National Committee to send delegations abroad and Mr. Z. Meierovics, a member of the Latvian National Council, was designated to represent Latvia in Great Britain. His work was successful—the British Government (Balfour) granted de facto recognition to the Latvian National Council as the Latvian de facto government. The British State's Declaration was published on November 11, 1918.\*\*

In consequence of the Allied victory Riga was freed from German occupation and the members of the Latvian National Council joined forces with the Latvian political leaders left in Riga during the German occupation for political work. Riga had at that time its own Democratic Bloc and the Latvian National Council merged with the Democratic Bloc, forming the Latvian State Council. The State Council constituted a Provisional Latvian Government and nominated as first Prime Minister K. Ulmanis (graduate, former instructor of Lincoln University, Nebraska). Z. Meierovics became Latvia's first Foreign Minister. The declaration of Latvia's independence was reaffirmed again on November 18, 1918, the anniversary of the first declaration. The creation of the Latvian independent State became an accomplished fact.

At the same time, after the collapse of Germany in November, 1918, the Soviet Government denounced the treaty of Brest-Litovsk; formed communistic Quisling governments for the Baltic States, Finland, Poland, the Ukraine and White Ruthenia, and at once started to reconquer the Baltic States in order to become an immediate neighbor of Germany, where communism was apparently in the making. The Bolsheviks attacked Finland in December, 1918; also Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania and Poland were invaded, but by the newly organized democratic armies of these national states the Bolshevik tide was turned back.\*\*\*

After this struggle, uselessly prolonged by the Bolsheviks, they agreed to sign peace treaties "for eternity": with Estonia on February 2, 1920; Lithuania on July 12, 1920; Latvia on August 11, 1920; Finland on October 14, 1920, and with Poland on March 18, 1921. The Bolsheviks had hoped that by overpowering Poland they would establish their control over the other Baltic States later on. However, the Bolsheviks were definitely beaten by the valiant Polish army, which also helped Latvia. On January 26, 1921, the great European powers recognized the independence of the Baltic States de jure, and Latvia was accepted in the League of Nations as a full-fledged mem-

---

\* See Appendix: *Protest of the Latvian National Council.*

\*\* See Appendix: Text of Lord Balfour's note.

\*\*\* See Appendix: L. Ekis, *Latvia's Struggles for Independence.*

ber. Soviet Russia, like Germany, had to abandon their imperialistic designs to dominate the Baltic Sea.

The victory of the Allies, achieved with the help of America in 1918, established the principle of self-determination of nations, which was also applied to Latvia. The United States affirmed this principle, when on July 28, 1922, the Secretary of State *Charles E. Hughes* announced the recognition of Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania. \*

The old homogenous and indigenous Baltic nations of the Finns, Estonians, Latvians and Lithuanians became independent and the Baltic Sea became again free. The quarrel over the *Dominium Maris Baltici* was eliminated by returning the Baltic Sea to the real guardians of its freedom—to the riparian states of the Baltic.

The Baltic Sea became a peaceful sea, open to the world's trade, and to democratic cooperation for the common benefit of all. In order to regulate traffic and communications on the Baltic, several international conventions were signed by the riparian States, and several of these conventions were joined by Soviet Russia and Germany. The first was the Aaland Convention already mentioned regarding the demilitarization and neutralization of these Baltic Islands, signed on October 20, 1921, by Estonia, Finland, Sweden, Denmark, Germany, Latvia, Poland, also by Great Britain, France and Italy (on behalf of the Allies).

The next was the convention to suppress alcohol smuggling on the Baltic Sea, signed on August 19, 1925, by Denmark, Danzig, Estonia, Finland, Latvia, Lithuania, Norway, Poland, Sweden and Soviet Russia.

Then, on December 31, 1925, the Baltic Geodetic Convention was signed by Denmark, Estonia, Finland, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Danzig and Sweden.

According to the Bern (October 23, 1924), Geneva (January 31, 1928) and other international transit and trade conventions, and because of the special Soviet Russian clause (granting rights and privileges to Soviet Russia beyond and above the most favored nations clauses) in the Latvian trade agreements, extensive facilities were granted by Latvia to Soviet Russian trade and transit over their rail- and waterways and through Latvian ports. Tariff reductions from 10% to 70% in favor of Russia were made by Latvia and various other facilities were granted in order to encourage Soviet Russia to use the Duna (Daugava) for floating rafts and Latvian railways and ports for exports (electrical derrick equipments, refrigerators, elevators, etc., were installed in Latvian ports, anticipating Russian exports).

But the results were meager. Soviet Russia did not use either Latvian or Estonian ports. Soviet Russia preferred to develop her own ports of Leningrad, Archangel and especially the ice-free Murmansk instead of using the ready and available Latvian ports. It was not only for the political reason—to try to ruin economically

---

\* See Appendix: *Recognition of Latvia by the United States of America.*

the Latvian ports and the commercial fleet of Latvia—but also because Soviet Russia concentrated her comparatively small foreign trade in her own ports. Soviet Russia by intensive processes of industrialization attracted tens of millions of new consumers of farm products to factories and cities. So there was little butter, eggs, grain and even flax available for export. Soviet Russia even imported butter, meat and fish products from Latvia, paying for these products with raw materials: salt, kerosene, soda, etc. But Latvian-Soviet trade amounted to only about 3% of the entire Latvian exports and imports and Soviet Russian transit trade through Latvia accounted for less than 8% in the best (1938) year of all Latvian railway transit.

In the past 22 years of her freedom Latvia tried to establish the closest cultural and economic relations with her sister republics of Estonia and Lithuania, and also with Poland and Finland, basing these relations on voluntary collaboration. Poland and Finland participated in the Baltic conferences in the first year of Baltic independence.

Special mention should be made of the Great Baltic Conference of Bulduri (near Riga) in July, 1920. Not only all of the Baltic States, including Finland and Poland, but also the then independent Ukrainians and White Ruthenians took part.\* Sweden had also in principle agreed to send her representative, but Sweden's participation did not materialize. The resolutions adopted by this conference pointed the way to the United States of the Baltic if they had only been realized.

In October, 1920, the Wilno incident occurred between Poland and Lithuania, which affected Baltic collaboration for years to come. In November, 1923, Latvia signed a defensive alliance with Estonia. In 1925 a convention for arbitration was signed by Latvia, Estonia, Poland and Finland. In 1934 a treaty of better understanding and collaboration was signed in Geneva by Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, and this was indeed a progress, although only of local importance for the Baltic States themselves. The problems of Wilno and Klaipeda (or Memel) were left out of the scope of the treaty of 1934, being considered as matters of specifically Lithuanian concern.

Lithuania has never abandoned her claim to Wilno, and the principles of the Atlantic Charter and the necessity to arrive at a just solution of this problem will undoubtedly restore the equilibrium of Polish-Lithuanian relations after the victory of the Great Democracies.

During this time Finland renewed her efforts to become a member of the Scandinavian family of states. While Scandinavian States became more friendly to Finland, Sweden was cautious about embarrassing herself with obligations that could be interpreted as a deviation from her neutrality versus Soviet Russia. In order to meet the Swedish demands, the Finnish Government decided to

---

\* The White Ruthenians and the Ukrainians lost their independence in 1921 through Bolshevik unprovoked aggression. Nevertheless, a strong national movement of both—White Ruthenians and Ukrainians—has never ceased.

transmit her Carelian quarrel with Soviet Russia to the League of Nations. This, of course, facilitated the rapprochement.

In the last two decades Finland has gone a long way toward the Scandinavian orbit and was accepted as a member not only in the Society of the North, but also in the Oslo Tariff group, together with Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxemburg, Denmark, Norway and Sweden.

In the meantime the Baltic States also made successful efforts to establish closer collaboration with Sweden. The venerable King of Sweden Gustav V in 1929 paid a personal visit to the President of Latvia, after the President of Latvia had called at Stockholm. The same exchange of State-visits took place between Sweden and Estonia. Latvia adopted for her Protestant church the Swedish ritual and the Protestant Latvian Bishop was consecrated by the Archbishop Soederblom of Upsala. Cultural and economic relations grew. It should be remembered that Latvia, like Finland and Estonia, had belonged to the Swedish Commonwealth of the Baltic Sea in the XVII and XVIII centuries, retaining the best of memories of the enlightened and just "good old Swedish days".

The relations between the Baltic States and Soviet Russia, theoretically based on non-interference promised by Soviet Russia, were not so happy, because there were permanent interference and attempts to spoil relations from the Soviet Russian side. Soviet Russia never forgot the Czarist imperialistic intentions regarding the Baltic Sea, which the Communistic International revived for its own purposes. They did not succeed in 1918-1919 and were beaten back from Viipuri, Narva, Reval (Tallinn), Riga, Windau (Ventspils) and Libau (Liepaja). In 1924 they tried their hand with a communistic putsch in Tallinn, but without success. The last attempt was made after their treaty with Germany on August 23, 1939, dividing spheres of influence in Eastern Europe between themselves.

The Bolsheviks, by forcing Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania in September and October, 1939, to accept Soviet Russian garrisons and to lease them bases for the duration of the war, actually invited a future German attack on themselves, because the Germans themselves want to dominate the Baltic Sea. The only possible permanent solution of the Baltic problem is the reestablishment of the equilibrium on the shores of the Baltic Sea and the reinstatement of the independent Baltic countries—both the Germans and the Russians have to get out of Latvia and the Baltic States.

There must be an *international police force* in the future against international and political gangsterism! It would not help to let the Bolsheviks have the shores of the Baltic Sea as a "strategic bulwark" against Germany. That would raise a new tyrant in Northeastern Europe and new conflicts would become inevitable.

This war will end victoriously for the Great Democracies. We do not doubt that. Germany's military power will be destroyed. Then why should Soviet Russia be made militarily preponderant on the Baltic Sea? Soviet Russia's state organization is only a shell

for dynamic Communism. Soviet Russia, by her recent deeds in the Baltic countries (in 1940-1941), proved the aggressive designs of the Third International and the dictatorship of the proletariat. Soviet Russia's domination over the Baltic States—Latvia, Estonia, Lithuania—is not the solution of the Baltic problem. Shall the Finns, Estonians, Latvians, Lithuanians—together about 11 million people—be subject to national extermination and aggression in order to safeguard Soviet Russian factories in Leningrad? To surrender the Latvian and other Baltic peoples to the Bolsheviks—as the Bolsheviks insist—would present a flagrant violation of the Atlantic Charter and of all the high principles the Democracies are fighting for. It would be anti-social, anti-religious and against the interest of an enduring peace. This would also endanger Sweden, Norway and Denmark and in the last account all of Europe. If this is a war against imperialism and for the rights of the common man, then basic principles cannot be compromised for the aggrandizement of any country.

The Freedom of the Baltic Sea, maintained by free adjacent riparian Baltic nations presents a guarantee to all Europe—a guarantee of peace, of social justice, democracy and collaboration.

### CHAPTER III

#### SOVIET RUSSIA OCCUPIED LATVIA ON JUNE 17, 1940, BY “DEVIOUS PROCESSES”.

In total disregard of the peace treaty signed with Latvia and the other Baltic States “for eternity” and all other treaties, pacts and solemn promises, hundreds of thousands of troops of the Soviet Russian Red army with their thousands of tanks and other motorized equipment by unprovoked aggression, force and deceit broke on June 15-17, 1940, into the peaceful fields and cities of Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia\*. They overran Latvia, its towns and cities. Government and municipal buildings were seized and the police and national guard were disarmed. The crimson-white-crimson flag of Latvia was defiled, the Latvian army rendered helpless by the onslaught of the Soviet forces. A dark and fearful night settled over Latvia. A period of slavery and suffering began for the Latvian people.

Let us look back on the order in which these events happened. To better understand how the world's “first socialistic great power”—Soviet Russia—placed the chains of slavery upon Latvia and her neighbors Estonia and Lithuania, one must go back to the events of the fall of 1939.

On September 1, 1939, the European war began. In view of the fact that the military operations took place within 200 miles of Latvia, the latter could not avoid the indirect effects of the war.

---

\* Compiled on the basis of reliable reports of eyewitnesses by the *Latvian Information Bulletin*, published by the Press Bureau of the Latvian Legation in Washington.

Germany's attack on Poland was made possible only by the German-Soviet Russian agreement. Both these "dynamic" powers desired war in order to gain the spoils of war and conquest. In this gamble and demonstration of brutal force of the great powers the Baltic States could play no active part. The principle of force took the place of rights and treaties, and international gangsterism broke into full bloom. The fate of Latvia and the other Baltic States was decided by the arbitrament of powers bent upon conquest and domination. Hitler sold the Baltic peoples to the Soviet Russia despite the recently-signed treaty of non-aggression between Latvia and Germany (on June 7, 1939) and despite Germany's official declaration of friendship. The Russian communists also declared on every occasion that they were conducting a policy of peace, that they were the "defenders" of the small nations, etc.

After the defeat and division of Poland there could be no doubt but that it soon would be the turn of Latvia. Indeed, Soviet Russia did not wait long. Using the incident of a Polish submarine that had escaped into the harbor of Tallinn (Capital of Estonia), as pretext, they compelled the Estonians at the end of September of 1939 to conclude the so-called "Pact of Mutual Assistance". The Estonians were forced to lease to the Soviet Russians all their islands in the Baltic Sea for Soviet Russian military and naval and air-force bases. In addition Soviet Russian troops were placed in certain Estonian ports. With the conclusion of the Estonian-Soviet Pact of Mutual Assistance the balance in the Baltic region was effectively destroyed.

No sooner had the ink dried on the Soviet Russian-Estonian "bases treaty," than the Latvian Government received an invitation to go to Moscow in order to discuss the political relations between Latvia and Soviet Russia. The Estonians signed the treaty on September 28, 1939, and the Latvian Government received an invitation to appear "for discussion" on October 1, 1939.

On October 2, 1939, the Latvian Foreign Minister Vilhelms Munters was already in Moscow. On October 5, 1939, the "Pact of Mutual Assistance" dictated by the Soviet Russians was signed.\* Latvia had to consent to Soviet Russian troops being stationed for the duration of the war in Liepaja, Ventspils and the Pitrags district whereby the entrance to and exit from the Gulf of Riga would be under Soviet Russian control. On October 10, 1939, a similar pact was signed by Lithuania, only with even more exacting stipulations, which were "sugared" by "returning" Vilna to the Lithuanians.

At the time avowals were made to the Latvian envoys, and Stalin himself gave his "communistic word of honor" that Soviet Russia would not interfere in Latvia's internal affairs and would not menace the established political, social and economic system of Latvia. Other Soviet Russian statesmen (V. Molotov) tried by various means to dispel the suspicions of the Latvians and asserted

---

\* See Appendix: Report of V. Munters and text of pact.

that it was not at all in the interests of Soviet Russia to sovietize Latvia and the other Baltic States.

During the first months, although it was painful for every patriotic Latvian to see Soviet Russian troops on Latvian soil, the conduct of the Soviet Russians was correct. Especially during the Finnish-Soviet Russian war the Soviet Russians were most correct towards Latvia. Even the underground workings of the illegal communist party in Latvia were discontinued for the time being in order to show how tolerant and sincere Soviet Russia was toward the little Baltic States who had given her "bases treaties" without military opposition.

But the politeness and correctness of the Soviet Russians toward the Baltic States ended immediately or very shortly after the signing of peace between Soviet Russia and Finland (on March 12, 1940). In April and May of 1940 attacks already appeared in the government controlled Soviet press against Estonia and Lithuania. Not against Latvia: in order to restrain the Baltic States from any collaboration even when preparations to destroy the last vestiges of their independence were being made. In May, 1940, the attacks of the Soviet press against Lithuania became sharp and threatening. According to these press dispatches Lithuania was purposely provoking conflicts with Soviet Russia. Of course, no one believed then or now that the Lithuanian police were kidnapping Soviet soldiers from their barracks, that Soviet Russians were being persuaded to desert, etc.,—the Bolshevik propaganda methods were too obvious.

The condition of the Baltic States in the summer of 1940 was a most difficult one. They were cut off from all communication with the rest of the world. To the West was belligerent Germany which was hostile to them and had already come to an agreement with Soviet Russia. To the North, beyond the Gulf of Finland, was Finland, ruined by the recent war and nursing her wounds. Poland, the great neighbor to the South, was destroyed and divided between two merciless conquerors. Even great France lay defeated, derided and broken under the wheels of the battle wagons of Germany. Great Britain watched with anxious eyes the skies and the coast of France, and with unflinching courage prepared herself for a struggle to the death against Hitler. It seemed indeed that the fate of the world was in the scales.

Who was there under these conditions to take an effective interest in the fate of the Baltic States? In all the turmoils and catastrophies of Europe their fate seemed unimportant, a side issue. The Soviet Russians took advantage of this and without any pretense at law and justice presented an ultimatum to Lithuania on June 14, 1940. This ultimatum accused Lithuania of conspiring against Soviet Russia, of secret treaties and of trying to involve even Finland in these combinations. Lithuania was further accused of joining Latvia's defensive military alliance with Estonia. These were all utterly fantastic fabrications, and were immediately



repudiated and disproved.\* Soviet Russia then threw all "diplomacy" to the winds and simply demanded the right to occupy Lithuania with a "sufficient" number of Red troops, as well as the resignation of the Lithuanian Government and the formation of a Government acceptable to Soviet Russia. The ultimatum granted a term of only a few hours, and without waiting for a reply the Red army on June 15, 1940, marched and flew into Lithuania, taking up positions against Latvia and actually encircled Latvia, in order to eliminate any possibility of even a suicidal opposition. Then on June 16, 1940, Latvia received the same kind of Soviet Russian ultimatum.\*\* It contained the same utterly groundless accusations of secret military treaties, of conferences held by the chiefs of general staffs, conferences held with foreign diplomats, etc.

The ultimatum demanded that in order to avoid *possible* unfriendly acts against the Bolshevik garrisons, in order to enhance the security of the Soviet Union, etc., etc., it was indispensable that Soviet Russian military forces occupy all important centers of Latvia, that a Government friendly to Soviet Russia be formed—briefly, that Latvia cease to exist as an independent State.

The unpardonable aggression of Soviet Russia against a peaceful neighbor, which neither desired nor was able to menace Soviet Russia's security, became an accomplished fact. The Soviets, even from their alleged strategic point of view had no plausible motive for this aggression, for in a military sense it did not strengthen the Soviet position against the sole possible enemy to the west—against Germany.

By destroying Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia, and their armies, Soviet Russia deprived herself of a half a million fighting men, who would have been only too eager to fight for their countries against Germany. The fallacy of the Soviet strategic argument is exploded, if we recall that Riga, the Capital of Latvia, fell on July 1, 1941—only eight days after the outbreak of the Soviet-German war.

After the entry of the Red army into Latvia and after taking over all important and strategic positions Soviet Russian officials immediately began to sovietize Latvia.

On the streets of Riga the Soviet emissaries organized demonstrations with the help of "shock brigadiers" imported from Moscow under disguise of skilled labor for enlarging the "bases" in Libau. These demonstrations were supposed to create the atmosphere of social revolution. Imported from Moscow was also a carload of Soviet statesmen's photographs and communistic posters which were distributed in large quantities to the hired demonstrators against the Latvian "plutocratic" and "reactionary" government, which had already been ousted by the Soviet Russian military forces.

After the occupation of Latvia by the Red army, a pro-Soviet government was formed in Latvia. This task was confided by the Soviet Government to the notorious communist, A. Vishinsky, who

---

\* See Appendix: *Text of Latvian official Dementi.*

\*\* See Appendix: *Text of Sov. Russia's Ultimatum.*

had become famous in 1936 and 1937 for his leading role in the trials and execution of Soviet field marshals and generals.

Vishinsky delivered his list of candidates to the Government, to the Latvian President K. Ulmanis, with the stipulation that nothing in the list was to be changed. The guns of the Soviet Russian naval squadron which at that time anchored in the Daugava river opposite the President's palace, were aimed at this building. The Latvians were given to understand that the slightest opposition on the part of the President would mean the bombardment of Riga and its destruction. Under such circumstances the Soviet controlled Government of Kirchensteins was born on June 21, 1940.

This new Government was a tool in the hands of the Soviet Russian authorities, and even the speeches of the new ministers were drawn up in the Soviet Legation. In obeying the orders of the Bolsheviks the so-called ministers tried to outdo each other in defiling the legal Latvian Government and in praising Soviet Russia and its statesmen. Confusion reigned among the population and all social and economic life was in a state of chaos. The communists opened the prison doors, but it appears that with great difficulty throughout all Latvia only 253 political prisoners could be found, and these included extremists of the right wing and ordinary spies of the Red army. An outstanding case was that of the spy Fridrichson, who had been sentenced by Latvian courts to 15 years imprisonment at hard labor for espionage for the Red army. The moment that this "worthy" man was released from the Daugavpils prison he was immediately appointed Chief of the Daugavpils county. As his main achievement was stressed the fact that he had "suffered imprisonment, because he maintained friendly relations with the Red army."

From the speeches of the "Cabinet ministers" and the newly-appointed communistic directors it was clear that the real administrators were not the members of the so-called government, but the Soviet Legation, the Soviet Russian secret police—the GPU, the Soviet military authorities and the newly-created Latvian communist party, consisting of a couple of hundred members. During the first weeks this new "Government" continued to hoodwink the Latvian people, trying to create the impression that nothing but a change of Government had taken place, that nothing endangered the independence of Latvia and that the great Soviet Union would now defend Latvia against all enemies. The aforementioned Vishinsky in making an address from the balcony of the Soviet Legation (on June 21, 1940), hypocritically rebuked the over-zealous demonstrators hired by the Soviet Legation when they shouted for the annexation of Latvia by the Soviet Union.

Then on July 14-15, 1940, new "elections" to Parliament were proclaimed. Still no mention was made that the Soviet Russians were preparing the final act in the destruction of the independence of Latvia. The leaders of the Latvian communist party, which by that time had been legalized and officially declared the sole political

organization in Latvia (!), drew up a list of candidates for these elections.

The "elections" took place on July 14 and 15, 1940, with a preparatory period of about one week. There was only one candidate list and the "elections" was really a compulsory registration of all Latvian citizens of voting age.

All those participating in these "elections" had a stamp affixed to their passports, and by this method the Soviet invaders made a permanent record of those who voted and those who did not.

Although failure to vote threatened with loss of employment and shelter, with being marked forever a saboteur and an "enemy of the people", the Latvian nation even under this extraordinary pressure, found means to express its opposition to the farcical "elections" imposed by the Soviet. Not only did a large part of the population abstain from the elections altogether, but many of those who voted turned in empty envelopes and ruined lists.

These unsatisfactory and unexpected election results were discussed in Moscow, where it was considered to drop all subterfuge and to proclaim the annexation of Latvia to the military district of Leningrad.

But a subtler method was found—the results of the elections were published as 98% in favor of the communist candidates. This placed too heavy a burden upon the credulity of the world at large—a prosperous, contented nation voting almost unanimously to invite the regime of terror, expropriation and oppression of Soviet Russia which was only too well known and understood by Latvia.

The Soviet Leaders had to rush things through while the free world was stunned by the fall of France, the Low Countries and by the evacuation of Dunkirk.

On July 21, on the day when this so-called "people's parliament" convened, the leader of the communist party, Spure (a Latvian communist recently returned from Moscow), proposed a resolution effecting the annexation of Latvia to the U.S.S.R. The resolution was adopted in silence—without debate or vote.

It is needless to say that this decision has no value of any kind, no binding force whatsoever upon the Latvian nation or state.

The free world recognized these Soviet processes for what they were—the deliberate annihilation of the political independence and territorial integrity of Latvia.

The sovereign rights of the Republic of Latvia, the laws of justice and humanity were tramped upon in cruel disregard by the more powerful invader.

The devious processes of Soviet Russia were completed in Moscow on August 6, 1940. There a few picked "representatives" of the "Latvian people", with Professor Kirchenstein at their head, played the most tragic act of recent Latvian history—they begged the Soviet to admit Latvia into the U.S.S.R.

The first part of the Bolshevik program—the deliberate annihilation of the Latvian State—had been accomplished and the stage

was being set for the final part—the destruction and the scattering of the Latvian nation over the vast tundras and forests of Siberia.

## CHAPTER IV

### LATVIA UNDER SOVIET RUSSIAN OCCUPATION.\*

(June 17, 1940—July 1, 1941).

After the occupation of Latvia by Soviet Russia arrests, repressions, suicides, general confusion, and unemployment followed.

The communist authorities prohibited the sending abroad of Latvian newspapers, even though they were under communist censorship. For this reason news about Latvia became scarce. The Latvian broadcasting station also became very deficient. The time previously devoted to news broadcasts was now taken up by personal interest stories of communists, factory workers, shock-brigadiers and factory competitions. Only on rare occasions a piece of news flashed through giving an idea of actual conditions there. Thus one could see that many factories were idle, because of lack of raw materials, and that all the leading positions in Latvia had been taken over by Soviet Russians. Where Latvian commissars had been installed, one or two Soviet Russian vice-commissars were attached to them with the actual authority.

A general policy of Russification was started. What the Czars had not been able to accomplish in a century, the Bolsheviks planned to complete in two years.

Soviet-Russian films, plays, books and newspapers were imported from Moscow, and Soviet-Russian artist-brigades visited cities and rural districts to popularize communism, Sov.-Russian art and the Russian language—"the language of Lenin"!

But this was only the innocuous beginning of the Russification of Latvia. The real program—the transfer of the native population—was started in the spring of 1941. The Latvian nation—and the Estonian and Lithuanian—were under this Soviet Russian program to be scattered over Central and Western Siberia and the territories of the Baltic countries populated by Russians.

The political and economic conditions in Latvia became worse every day, and the number of dissatisfied persons continued to grow. The GPU sensed that, and repressions became heavier. It was evidently in the interests of the Bolsheviks to destroy the farmers and the bourgeoisie. Prisons were filled. GPU chambers of interrogation had been created in the cellars of the former magnificent medieval Guild Building in Riga and the Ministry of Interior. Arrests and deportations continued.

Unemployment, arrests and repressions led many people to commit suicide. President Karlis Ulmanis, the vice-president General Janis Balodis and many members of the Latvian Government,

\* Compiled on the basis of reliable reports of eyewitnesses, by the *Latvian Information Bulletin*, published by the Press Bureau of the Latvian Legation in Washington.

former members of Latvian Cabinets, and representatives were deported to Soviet Russia already before the decisions of the communist "people's parliament" to join Soviet Russia.

Bitterness among the population was general, for the situation became more hopeless every day.

During the first few days of the Red rule of Latvia the workmen were promised a golden future. But disappointment came soon. The cost of living rose much more quickly than wages, and the standard of living of the workmen became much lower than before. . . . After the "elections" of July, 1940, the wages of the workers were reduced. It was impossible to obtain even simple necessities and the outlook in the future became gradually worse. Even the old Latvian communists became embittered. The Bolsheviks from Moscow considered them as "Trotzkists" and said that they were worse than the former capitalists. The Latvian communists obtained the lowest positions, but all the better paid positions, particularly those connected with some industrial or commercial enterprise, were filled by "loyal" Russians. Every month "revisions" were carried out within the communist party and old members were expelled. Before the mock elections the communist party enrolled new members, but that was discontinued after Latvia had been incorporated into the U.S.S.R.

Latvian farmers were anxiously watching the notices in the communist press to the effect that in many places the farmers "are demanding" the introduction of communistic collective farms. The new government announced that the collective farms would not be organized against the "general will" of the local farmers, but everyone was aware how this "general will" was expressed. At meetings the delegates of the party proposed certain motions of their own wording, and everyone was compelled to accept these resolutions. The communists kept a close watch on all those who were not willing enough to approve and accept the communist proposal and afterwards they were compelled to give their explanations to the GPU.

At the beginning of the Soviet occupation the owners of enterprises were permitted to remain at work as technical workers, but soon they were discharged. Together with former officials they comprised a whole army of unemployed, without any hope for other employment. They eked out a miserable life by selling their last belongings, and lived in constant fear of arrest and deportation.

Small shops and stores which were not immediately nationalized, gradually disappeared because the Soviet-expropriated factories refused to supply them with goods and materials. Also artisans were unable to work because of lack of raw materials. The whole country was nearing a stage of pauperism. Once in a while an open protest was made, but the protesters were immediately arrested and disappeared.

Complete confusion reigned in administrative operations. Officials were appointed and deposed. One department worked against the other. Decrees came in showers, and they were surprisingly contradictory.

Almost the entire agricultural and industrial output was taken to Soviet Russia.

People from Latvia were not permitted to go to Soviet Russia because the Bolsheviks did not want the Russian people to learn how the Latvians had lived before the Bolsheviks came and how life during the past 20 years had improved everywhere where communism was not in power.

The Red chain had already been clamped so tightly around Latvia that even foreign diplomats stationed in Moscow were forbidden to visit the Baltic areas. Why? Because the Bolsheviks were afraid of the truth. The inhabitants of Latvia had actually been deprived of all contacts with the outer-world. Letters arriving in Latvia from abroad, if they were permitted by the censor to leave the post office at all, were delivered to the addressee not by the regular mailman, but by a Red gendarme. This, of course, was a clear hint that any connections maintained with foreign countries, even in the form of an innocent post-card, were undesirable. It stands to reason that under such circumstances it was hazardous in the extreme to deliver to the post office a letter bearing a foreign address and containing any information about local conditions.

Also the radio was no longer a source of information. Latvian radio stations were completely transformed into mouthpieces for Red Soviet Russian imperialism. The programs of the Riga radio station gradually eliminated the use of the Latvian language, and Latvian music, to be substituted by the Russian language, Soviet Russian (proletarian) music and Soviet Russian (communistic) lectures.

The Soviet system established in Latvia was a copy of the Soviet Russian institutions and all important positions were filled by Russians coming from Soviet Russia. The officials discharged from the Ministry of Interior, as for example police officials, thousands of members of the National Guard, etc., were destined to die of slow starvation, as they were proscribed from any positions or remunerative employment.

"Elements hostile to Soviet Russia must die out" authorities in power explained.

Latvian laws were immediately annulled and the Latvian judicial institutions abolished. Members of the Latvian Bar were persecuted, particularly those who had had any international connections. It was said that the prominent Latvian international lawyers, Martins Antons and Heinrichs Rusis (latter Member of the International Law Society), were arrested because they were members of a Masonic lodge. H. Rusis was sentenced to death.

The University of Latvia was also "reformed". Not only was its program drawn up along the lines of the communistic pseudo-universities of Soviet Russia but an uneducated Soviet Russian—"professor" Pashkevich—was appointed its President. Many professors were discharged, for example, all philosophers, lawyers and the professors of the two abolished theological faculties—the Protestant and the Roman Catholic.

The persecution of religion and the church started in Latvia immediately after the establishment of the Soviet regime. The teaching of religion, once universal in all primary schools in Latvia, had been abolished and forbidden. Denominational schools and religious orders were closed and their property confiscated. The theological (Catholic and Lutheran) faculties of the University of Riga were closed. All religious publications were suppressed, together with all other publications not Bolshevik in character.

All churches and their property were expropriated by the Soviets. Many churches were transformed into moving picture houses, Red army clubs and one church in Libau was turned into a circus. Divine services were seriously curtailed and were permitted only in a few churches. Even then, services were often interrupted and interfered with by the Red militiamen and other communists. Many clergymen have been jailed, tortured, put to hard labor in concentration camps, deported to Soviet Russia. Pastors have been dispossessed from their parish-houses, deprived of all means of livelihood.

According to best available and verified accounts, tens of thousands of representatives of the religious, political, economical and cultural life of Latvia, among them also numerous Latvian Jews, have been torn from their homes and families and deported to Siberia and Soviet Central-Asia.\* According to the data published in the Washington "Times-Herald" on September 15, 1941, by Lowell Limpus, taken (as he stated himself) from American semi-official sources, the losses of Latvia during this war were as follows: Of the total population of Latvia—1,990,700—12,000 had been killed, 14,000 wounded, 45,000 missing (altogether 71,000).

All phases of Latvian life were dominated by Soviet commissars and the Red army. The life of Latvia was dragged down to the Soviet Russian level and each person in town apartments was permitted by law to have not more than 10 square yards of floor space. Room had to be made for the Red army and Soviet officials. The antiques shops in Moscow, which only a short time ago were quite empty, in July, 1940 offered a strikingly large number of new objects for sale. The foreigners stationed in Moscow had no doubts that these objects came from the plundered Baltic States—Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania.

However, not only the former well-to-do classes and the Latvian intelligentsia had to suffer from the occupation, but the great masses of the people—the farmers and the workmen—were also plunged into misery. The Latvian agricultural system was completely ruined because the Latvian farmer, who for centuries struggled to become the owner of the land tilled by him, was by the nationalization of this land thrown back into the same position in which his ancestors were under the Baltic barons. In brief, the farmer became the slave of the "Soviet commune." It stands to

---

\* See Appendix: *Bolsheviks deported Latvian intellectuals.*

reason that such a "reform" of the agricultural system led only to ruin.

The "4-H" club movement among the farmer-youth was completely destroyed and more than 1000 clubs dissolved.

And yet, in spite of the threat that all disobedience would be punished by deportation to Soviet Russia, the Latvian farmers openly showed their discontent.

The working people were also completely disappointed by the Bolshevik occupation of Latvia.

The levelling of the Latvian currency—the "Lats"—to the Soviet Russian "Rouble" as well as the great shortage of goods caused by the occupation of the country led to a fabulous rise in the cost of living, and there could be no comparison between this rise and the increase in wages. Moreover, the workmen saw in the near future inevitable unemployment, as the Soviet Russians were removing all the best machinery from Latvia to Soviet Russia. In certain factories this was done under the pretext that the workers there were untrustworthy and might harm the machinery by sabotage. In other factories, however, where it was impossible to raise any suspicion against the workmen, it was explained to them that the machines were being taken to serve as "samples" but that they would be returned in hundreds.

The true state of affairs was that Soviet Russia had set out to destroy the Latvian nation, its agriculture, its industry and to settle the country with Russians, thus "solving" for all time the fate of Latvia.

Opposition to the Soviet became general. The Russians themselves admitted that sabotage was going on. The Latvian people—the farmers, the working people—sensed the fate that was in store for them.

Even the small group of Latvian communists and their leaders had become so incensed by all that had happened in Latvia since the first days of the occupation that they openly voiced their protests. It was reported that the workers had to be driven by force and by threats to meetings which were called for the agitators from Moscow. At one such meeting in Liepaja (Libau), after the agitators' speeches, one workman took the floor and openly proclaimed that he had been a communist for 14 years, had remained true to his convictions under all regimes and under the Ulmanis government had even spent a year in prison. He said that he knew what communism meant, but what was going on now in Latvia was sheer travesty and fraud upon communism. The workman was not allowed to go on any further, however, for he was hauled down from the speaker's platform by the Red militia. No doubt he paid for his daring with his life.

Soviet Russian imperialism was aiming the full force of its propaganda against the minds of Latvian youth. In some schools in Riga the pupils even barricaded the doors of their classes in order to keep the communistic teachers from entering. In the University



students protested against the Soviet Russian occupation which was answered by severe reprisals—on December 16, 1940, Red army forces surrounded the University, and arrested 50 students, about whose fate nothing further is known. Presumably they were deported to Soviet Russia. Secret meetings of protest nevertheless continued.

In spite of prohibitions, students and school children organized on November 18, 1940—Latvia's Independence Day—a pilgrimage to the Military Cemetery. The majority of the pilgrims were driven from the Cemetery by armed forces. Many were arrested and many more were beaten. .

Even many Latvian communists returning to their native land from Soviet Russia began to understand that the purpose of the Soviet Russians was not so much the introduction of a so-called "Soviet Regime" into Latvia and the victorious advance of communistic ideas, but the *destruction of the Latvian people by deportation and Russification.*

Every day brought new reports of Russification, the purpose of which was not so much the propagation of communistic ideas but the elimination of the Latvian nation from the home-lands of its ancestors.

## CHAPTER V

### BOLSHEVIKS OFFER UNCONVINCING APOLOGIA.

"The Soviet Union, Finland and the Baltic States", is the title of a pamphlet published in London in 1941 by the "Soviet War News" on behalf of the "Soviet Information Bureau" in London.

Why did they publish it?

Because the unprovoked aggression of Soviet Russia against Latvia and the other Baltic States in June, 1940, the invasion of these countries by the overwhelmingly superior military forces of the U.S.S.R. and the reign of terror and depredation initiated by the Bolsheviks have raised a storm of protest throughout the free world.

While the communists have heretofore paid scant attention to public opinion in the civilized countries, and have seldom, if ever, allowed themselves to be put on the defensive, they feel compelled to offer their apologia for the outrages committed by them against Latvia.

In order to appeal to the public opinion in the democratic world where justice is supreme and traditions count for a great deal, the Bolsheviks are trying very hard to present their justification for the conquest of Latvia on the basis of historical and legal arguments, although these arguments have no place in their own ideology of force, revolution, terror and dictatorship.

Throughout the various somersaults of their policy the Bolsheviks have never lacked the effrontery to present the most bizarre arguments as long as these arguments are useful to them.\* This

---

\* K. R. Pusta, *The Soviet Union and the Baltic States*, New York, 1942.

seems to be an old Russian custom—Peter the Great also issued pamphlets to cover his aggression and invasion of the Baltic.

A French proverb says: "Qui s'excuse—s'accuse!" (The one who excuses himself—really accuses himself). That certainly is the case of the Bolsheviks when they try to whitewash the record of their aggression against Latvia. The dialectical method of the Bolshevik apologia applied to history, international relations and to treaty obligations, results in their defense and justification not only of their aggression against Latvia and the other Baltic countries, but also in a general justification of the aggressive policy which the Bolsheviks pursued after the close of the first World War, and to which they reverted in 1939.

The Bolsheviks, their basic ideology and policy, contrary to some popularly held conceptions, do not change or reform. Their use of democratic conceptions and arguments is no proof that they have accepted democracy or its methods.

The Bolsheviks have never hesitated to take advantage or make use of anything or anybody when helpful and convenient to them. Their own Bolshevik press in the U. S. already emphasizes this principle in regard to collaboration with England, expressed in general as follows: "Be ready for anything. Do not depend on the sacred promises of the bourgeois. As long as possible, collaborate with England fully, exploit this opportunity. But should a break occur in this forced friendship, do not lose the ground under your feet or the rainbow of your horizon—the Worldwide Union of Soviet Socialist Republics!"\*

They are quite willing to use and to enjoy the freedom of democracy in other countries but they would grant none to anyone in their own.

One should not forget for a moment the full implication of the fact that the doctrine of communism and all it stands for has never ceased to be dynamic. In this connection it is interesting to note the Statement of Hon. F. Biddle, the Attorney General of the United States, about the activities of the Communist Party in the United States of America:\*\*

Utilizing the propitious circumstances of their present position, the Bolsheviks did not hesitate to publish their official Bolshevik propaganda in London, and are now distributing it throughout the Non-Communist world.

But who could publish a pamphlet in Moscow? Of course, only the Third International.

### Political-Historical Background of Latvia

This Bolshevik pamphlet, published in London, begins with a totally untrue statement that the territory of the Baltic States has "for hundreds of years" been part of the Russian Empire. The

\* See "Amerikas Latvietis", December 20, 1941, Page 6, col. 1, Boston, a communistic weekly, published in Latvian language.

\*\* See Appendix: *History of the Communist Party*.

historical fact as already mentioned is that the connection between Estonia and Livonia, the northern province of Latvia, on one hand, and Russia on the other, dated from 1721 through 1917.

The southeastern Latvian province of Latgale was acquired by the Russians as late as in 1772, and the southern provinces of Latvia-Kurland and Semigallia, the core of present day Latvia, came under Russian rule even only in 1795. Thus the Russian rule for the greater part of Latvia has lasted only a little more than 120 years, and it was not a rule to which the Latvian people had ever agreed or consented—on the contrary, since the middle of the XIX century there has been a United Latvian Movement for freedom from German-Russian oppression, and this movement expressed itself through all legal and peaceful channels designed to obtain political rights and just treatment, and when these failed the dissatisfaction of the Latvian nation expressed itself in recurrent revolts against the Czarist regime and its henchmen, the German-Balt barons, the owners of big latifundies. These revolts were brutally suppressed by the Russian army.

As has already been said on many previous occasions, Soviet-Russia has no historical justification for any claim in law or equity against the Baltic countries and what fair-minded person would today deign to argue that mere possession, established in a predatory age and maintained by force, could be the source of any historical justification of international rights enabling the second largest territorial power in the world to swallow again the Baltic countries?

Although the Russian imperialistic czars completed the occupation of Latvia 122 years ago, the Latvian people have never lost their national identity and their Lutheran and Roman Catholic creeds. They never forgot the traditions of their early independence, the "good old Swedish days", the epoch of Duke Jacob of Kurland, and they never ceased to struggle against the arrogance of the Baltic barons and Russian bureaucracy. They always cherished their ideal of independence.

#### **Bolshevik Statement About "Territorial and Political Sacrifices" Distortion of Truth**

After a year of ruthless oppression of the Baltic peoples of Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania the Bolsheviks now try in the above pamphlet to convince the general public of their great generosity to the Baltic peoples before the communist aggression and invasion of 1940.

The authors of the pamphlet make the really amazing statement (on Page 3) to the effect that the Soviet Government made "serious political and territorial sacrifices" in pursuing the policy of recognition of the Baltic countries at the close of the first World War.

They try to convince the world now that they granted "voluntarily" the Baltic States their independence in 1920 (after a bloody war of about two years!), thereby—as they say—assuming considerable territorial and political sacrifices and that they have

been the first to grant recognition. And how "ungrateful" the Baltic peoples have been! First of all it is untrue that Soviet Russia was the first to grant recognition to Latvia: it was Great Britain who granted recognition to Latvia on November 11, 1918.\* But Soviet Russia was first to invade Latvia in December, 1918.

As a matter of fact, the Latvian people have been ungrateful from the Bolshevistic point of view, but only because they refused to become bolshevized, refused to embrace the communist tenets of anti-Christianity, of terror and expropriation.

The Bolsheviks tried to communize the Baltic peoples in 1918-1919, and again in 1924 (Communist putsch in Estonia), but because *there were no Nazis at that time to help them*, these attempts were totally unsuccessful. The Soviet pamphleteers "wisely" omit these facts from their review.

It is a complete mystery as to what political sacrifices are meant by the pamphleteers. Is it because in signing peace treaties with the Baltic countries the Soviet Government deviated from its communistic platform?

Is it because the Soviets had to accept the self-determination of the Baltic nations, because the communists could not enforce Bolshevism upon the Baltic nations, while they had succeeded in imposing their Bolshevik system on many other non-Russian peoples?

If the principle of self-determination is considered by the Soviets to be a political sacrifice, then what a terrible nuisance the Atlantic Charter must be to Soviet Russia!

Let us now look at the territorial sacrifices allegedly made by the Bolsheviks for the benefit of the Baltic States. The Baltic peoples are homogenous and indigenous entities inhabiting their countries for thousands of years, long before Soviet Russia came into existence. The Latvian ports of Riga, Libau and others have never been Russian ethnographically or geographically. These ports existed as Latvian harbors before the XII century. Later, as already described, they became members of the Hanseatic League and only in 1721 did Russian Imperialism succeed in acquiring Riga, but Libau or Liepaja came under Russian domination only in 1795. So there can be no talk of depriving Russia of *ports which never really belonged to the Russians and which Soviet Russia—although given every opportunity—did not use for its exports and imports*, except to an insignificant extent.

Just as unfounded is the statement that Russia made "other" territorial sacrifices. The ethnographic frontier between Russia and the Baltic countries is thousands of years old. There are, it is true, White Ruthenian minorities living in Latvian districts, adjoining the Soviet frontier. The White Ruthenian peasants came to Latvia as seasonal workers—farm-hands, ditch diggers, road and

---

\* See Appendix: *Text of Lord Balfour's Note.*

railway laborers, raftsmen, etc.—and preferred staying in Latvia to returning to their miserable life in Russia.

During a score of years several thousand such White Ruthenians accumulated; they are good farmers and God-fearing people, mostly of the so-called Old Believers' faiths. Being non-Bolsheviks and persecuted for their creed in their own land, they found a heaven in religious, tolerant Latvia. Neither Soviet Russia nor any other Russia has the right to claim the territory of Latvia on the grounds that a small minority, totaling less than 10% of the population, has come to Latvia in search of work and settled—many in the border region, but some in other parts of the country.

The Soviet Government recognized Latvia's independence by the Latvian-Soviet peace treaty of August 11, 1920, and renounced Russian sovereign rights in favor of Latvia "*forever*".\* The American Government, extending to Latvia its recognition *de jure* on July 28, 1922, pointed out in the already mentioned Secretary of State *Ch. E. Hughes' declaration* to basic facts; to wit: that recognition of Latvia as an independent entity does not constitute *alienation of Russian territory proper, because of the indigenouness of the population of Latvia*.

### Latvia Prospered and Was Economically Independent of Soviet Russia.

It must also be obvious to all, that the colossus of Russia made no economic sacrifices when Latvia and the other Baltic States became free. During the five months of the first Bolshevik invasion in Riga (from January to May, 1919) the communists confiscated and evacuated to Soviet Russia everything they were able to carry away: furniture, machinery, food, railway equipment, horses and cattle, raw materials, etc. A great part of what had survived the evacuation of Czarist Russia in 1915 and 1916, and the German plunder of 1917-1918, was in great haste removed by the Bolsheviks.

The Latvian claims for these losses and for the lost deposits of Latvian cities, organizations and individuals in the czarist Russian banks, amounting to several hundred millions gold roubles, have never been settled and Soviet Russia has never compensated Latvia for the heavy losses inflicted by the Bolsheviks during their first short invasion in 1919. The promise to return the evacuated properties and valuables, or pay for them, was never honored by Russia.

During the second period of Bolshevik occupation from June 17, 1940 to July 1, 1941, Latvian national wealth was expropriated by communism for the second time within the short period of 22 years. A huge part of the movable wealth was again carried away to Russia and the country suffered enormous losses of life and

---

\* See Appendix: *Text of Article 2 of Latvian-Sov. Russian Peace Treaty.*

property when the Russian Army applied the scorched earth policy in their retreat.

Before the Russian Revolution, Russia of the Czars contrived to squeeze out of Latvia a clear yearly surplus of \$18,000,000,\* and in some years even more. If there be any talk of sacrifice there is no question that the Latvians have been doing all the sacrificing for years, both under the Czars and under the Bolsheviks.

The claim made in the pamphlet regarding economical concessions, tariff exemptions, preferences, and special trading privileges that had allegedly been granted by the Soviets to Latvia are quite fantastic. They are only empty words without substance. True in the case of Latvia an agreement had been signed whereby Latvia was granted a concession to exploit some 100,000 hectares of forests in Soviet Russia as compensation for losses sustained, but this concession was never realized because of systematic sabotage by the Soviet authorities.

In a similar manner the transit trade promised by Soviet Russia never materialized. The insignificance of Soviet Russian trade to Latvia is proved by the trade statistics of 1938, when of Latvia's total exports of 260,000,000 Lats only 2.6% went to Soviet Russia, and of the total of 230,000,000 Lats of imports, only 3.8% came from Russia.

And, on the other hand, if Soviet Russia did not use the harbor and railroad facilities of Latvia except to an insignificant degree, how can Russia ever invoke the argument of vital economic interests for the control of Latvia? It must be evident that Russia managed her imports and exports quite satisfactorily through the numerous other outlets she had when she sabotaged her treaties with Latvia and withheld from Latvian transit even that amount of commerce that had been promised to Latvia, and which Latvia kept soliciting on terms most reasonable and fair to Russia. But as a matter of fact, in 1937 the transit of Soviet Russian goods through *all the Baltic States* amounted to only 185,290 tons (!), not enough for the maintenance of even one small Baltic port.

However, Soviet Russia systematically spread propaganda abroad to the effect that Latvia was choking Soviet Russia's export and was not in a position to exist as an independent economic and political unit without Russia, while Soviet Russia did everything possible to withhold from Latvia any benefits that might accrue to her from mutual trade and commercial intercourse. To illustrate this fact it is sufficient to compare Baltic exports in 1937 to Soviet Russia, to Scandinavian countries, to Great Britain and the rest of the world:\*\*

---

\* See Appendix: *Report on Russian Budget Revenues and Expenditures in 1913.*

\*\* Prof. K. Pakstas: *The Balto-Scandian Confederation*, 1942, Chicago, p. p. 17-19.

	To Soviet Russia	To Scandina- vian countr.	To Great Britain	To other countries
From Latvia -----	2.5%	5.6%	38.8%	53.1%
" Lithuania -----	5.3%	9.0%	46.6%	39.7%
" Estonia -----	4.1%	14.0%	32.6%	49.3%
" Finland -----	0.6%	6.0%	45.0%	48.4%

The truth is that Latvia prospered, and that, with a minimum of commercial intercourse with Soviet Russia.

*Latvia reached an incomparably higher material standard of life than Russia has ever known and we venture to say although Latvia is prostrate again, after the double rape by both partners in the erstwhile unholy Nazi-Communist Alliance, Latvia has the resources, the strength and the will to rebuild its life anew, to become again a self-supporting and peaceful state, scrupulously observing and meeting its obligations. And, we also predict that under a free government Latvia will again out-distance Soviet Russia in material comforts and cultural opportunities of its people.*

Latvia had in 1938 no strikes, no unemployment and even imported scores of thousands of farm-hands from Poland. Having a favorable trade balance Latvia began to pay off its foreign debts. The much discussed debt of the city of Riga to Lazard Brothers was regulated by a special agreement in 1936. In June, 1939, Latvia redeemed from the Lee Higginson Corp. of New York City, its 6% bonds, paying for them \$2,640,000 in cash. Trade with the United States was developing so satisfactorily, that a direct shipping line with regular sailings was established between Riga and New York in 1939.

It is utter distortion of truth to say that the Latvian people have the slightest wish to become sovietized, i. e., to lose their achieved prosperity. This claim is typical of Bolshevik policy, of their logic and of their propaganda. They always assume the role of the interpreters of the wishes of the peoples of other countries, and according to this interpretation it appears that all the peoples throughout the world are suffering in chains, are hoping and praying for a chance to be incorporated in the Soviet paradise.

But so far no line has formed at the gates of the Bolshevik paradise—the entrance has ever been effected only with the Red army implementing the communist interpretation of what other peoples should do.

### **Fantastic Insinuations About Latvia's Military Plotting Against Soviet Russia.**

Having no shred of right or justice to fall back upon, the Bolsheviks continue in their pamphlet against the Baltic countries with their fabrication of fantastic distortions and claims.

To this category of utterly fantastic claims must be assigned the Bolshevik statement that Latvia plotted with Poland and Finland, and, after the outbreak of war in 1939, also with Germany.

The pamphlet uses a great arsenal of various insinuations, false interpretations and sheer distortions of truth in trying to

accuse the government of Latvia of breaches of treaties and of a military conspiracy directed against the Soviet Union, thereby creating a menacing situation for the U.S.S.R.

Is it conceivable that numerically small Latvia, with a population totaling approximately 2,000,000 could ever be a menace to Soviet Russia?

It should be borne in mind here that Latvia being primarily an agricultural country, is totally devoid of mineral wealth and raw materials, like: oil, metals, coal to manufacture armaments and supply with munition industries.

The pamphlet even insinuates that Latvia had permitted her territories to become a place d'armes for anti-Soviet conspiracies, and jumping off grounds for anti-Soviet attacks!

In regard to this deliberate falsehood, we have uncontrovertible testimony of the diplomatic envoys and consular representatives from more than 30 countries who were stationed in Riga—up to June, 1940—and who can testify that all such accusations are wholly untrue and without the remotest basis of fact.

Diplomatic and consular representatives, visitors and foreign business and newspapermen moved freely in Latvia during the twenty-two years of her independence. Americans, by treaty between the United States and Latvia, enjoyed full protection in Latvia in all legitimate pursuits of business, study, journalism or touring. But, upon the Soviet invasion of Latvia, the Bolsheviks expelled all foreigners in great haste and sealed Latvia hermetically from all contact with the outside world.

And just how could Latvia plot against Soviet Russia at the time, when, under the Mutual Assistance Pact of October 5, 1939, Soviet Russia maintained garrisons at certain points of Latvian territory for the "protection" of mutual interests of peace and security against attack?

The pamphleteers insinuate that the Latvian-Estonian defensive alliance was directed exclusively against Soviet Russia. That is not true. The Latvian-Estonian Alliance, although it practically existed since the first days of the proclamation of independence of Latvia and Estonia, was formulated in a pact only on November 1, 1923, and the purpose was manifested as *defense of these countries against any aggressor*. Latvia and Estonia were allies also in the war against the German (Bermondt) aggression in 1919, which coincided with the Bolshevik invasion of that year. Is it not strange that Soviet Russia's Foreign Commissar Mr. V. Molotov had heard nothing about the Latvian-Estonian alliance during the October, 1939, negotiations in Moscow of the Mutual Assistance Pact with Latvia? Nor was anything said at the time by Soviet Russia about the Lithuanian-Latvian-Estonian Treaty of "Better Understanding and Collaboration", signed on September 12, 1934. It is worthwhile to note that there was no pressure exercised on Lithuania to sign this pact either from Estonia, or from Latvia—as the Bolsheviks would insinuate. On the contrary, it was Lithuania's free will to



sign such pact, called "The Baltic Entente".\* This treaty was signed in Geneva and was deposited like all other Latvian treaties, with the Secretariat of the League of Nations and had no military clauses whatsoever. It was, indeed, what is to be called a "*Treaty of Better Understanding*" and "*close Collaboration*". Soviet Russia, as a member of the League, accepted this treaty, like the Estonian-Latvian treaty, without any protest or representation.\*\*

Besides, the Pact of Non-Aggression of 1927 between Latvia and Soviet Russia had stipulated in its preamble, that "none of the international obligations assumed by the two contracting parties since 1920 should in any way be considered as hindering the peaceful development of mutual relations". In spite of this Mr. Molotov presented the Latvian Government with an ultimatum on June 16, 1940, in which he declared that by retaining the alliance with Estonia—and also "in other respects"—Latvia had violated the Mutual Assistance Pact! The "other respects" included "the creation of a special organ of the Baltic Military Alliance" (*La Revue Baltique* . . . and what a special menace: this review was published in English and French). Readers of that rather innocuous, scientific, non-artisan political review will probably agree that it could not be a violation of anything except perhaps of the laws of correct spelling. The "*Revue Baltique*", similar to the Pan American Union Bulletin, is available at the Library of Congress in Washington, and even the Bolshevik pamphleteers have dropped this item from their register of accusations. It is noteworthy that one of the editors of that "*Revue*", Mr. H. Tammer, an Estonian contributor, gives the Soviets credit in his article for their unchanged behavior towards the Baltic States since the signature of the Pacts of Mutual Assistance (!). Another, Jonas Vileisis, a Lithuanian author, deals with the Unity of the Baltic Nations. Mr. K. Pusta exclaims in his excellent booklet: "Is it by any chance the article of J. Vileisis, that occasioned the thunders in Moscow?"\*\*\*

The fact remains that Soviet Russia, like Germany, always opposed a closer understanding among the Baltic States, being guided evidently by the imperialistic proverb—"divide et impera"—(divide and rule). Reciprocal visits of Baltic generals were at once qualified as "conspiring", just as visits of foreign ministers, especially those to Warsaw. Baltic Conferences were represented as dangerous to Soviet Russia.

Soviet Russia tried many times to "protect" Latvia and the other Baltic States, i. e., to get control over the Baltic States. Everybody knows now what this type of "protection" means. In 1923 a Moscow emissary, Mr. Kopp, arrived in Riga to propose a formula, which would have isolated Latvia completely from all her neighbors and put her at the mercy of Soviet Russia. That was of course not acceptable to Latvia. The same formula was proposed to Estonia,

\* K. R. Pusta, *The Soviet Union and the Baltic States*, New York, 1942, p. 29.

\*\* See Appendix: *Political Treaties between the Baltic States*.

\*\*\* K. R. Pusta, *Op. Cit.* p. 43.

with the same negative result. A year later, in December, 1924, Soviet Russia reacted to the Latvian-Estonian alliance concluded in 1923, with an unsuccessful communistic putsch in Tallinn. After that Soviet Russia again came out with proposals of "non-aggression and neutrality", but had really in mind the same old plan to isolate the Baltic States from Poland and Rumania, in order to get them easier under her control. Soviet Russia tried to isolate Poland from the Baltic States on January 5, 1934, proposing to Poland a scheme for joint overlordship with Russia over the Baltic States. Poland—as it could be expected—rejected this offer. In March, 1934, Soviet Russia tried to arrange an overlordship over the Baltic States together with Germany, offering the Baltic States a common Soviet Russian-German guarantee. This was also rejected by Latvia, but even before that it was rejected by Germany (on April 23, 1934). If the Bolsheviks have forgotten all their unsuccessful manipulations and schemes against Latvia and the other Baltic States, and fail to mention them in their pamphlet, we have not!

Then came the episode of the "Eastern Locarno" or mutual assistance pact between Germany, Soviet Russia, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Finland and the Baltic States, which was apparently initiated in good faith by Mr. Litvinov, then Foreign Commissar of the U.S.S.R. The Baltic States agreed to this pact in principle, and it was not their fault that Hitler and after him Poland's Foreign Minister Beck rejected this project of Mr. Litvinov. But soon Mr. Litvinov (who was an ardent opponent of Hitler) himself became removed from the active foreign policy of the Soviets. At the same time the so-called collective security idea also was dropped by the Soviets. After Germany took Memel—in March, 1939—evidently with the consent of Soviet Russia, Moscow impudently announced that Latvia is in the region of Soviet Russian interests, and unilaterally offered to Latvia military assistance against any aggression, direct and *indirect*. In May, 1939, Soviet Russia had already agreed with Germany on the treaty that let loose the present war. It was inevitable that Latvia in self preservation signed on June 7, 1939, a non-aggression pact with Germany.

Finally, the Bolsheviks signed with Hitler's representative, Herr von Ribbentropp, on August 23, 1939, in Moscow, while the British and French military diplomats were still in Moscow busily conducting negotiations with Soviet Russia for a treaty against Germany, the coveted pact with Germany concerning the spheres of influence in Eastern Europe. Soon (end of September and October, 1939) "mutual assistance pacts" were extorted from the Baltic countries, and the day after the fall of Paris, on June 14, 1940, the first thunder bolt was sent against Lithuania. On June 15, 1940, Soviet Russian troops marched into Lithuania (south of Latvia) and at once took the direction versus the Latvian frontier, moving their troops from Shawli (on the border of Latvia) to Jelgava (Mitau), Capital of Kurland, province of Latvia. Everything was

done according to the previously-elaborated Bolshevik plan. One of the officers of the Red army in Lithuania incidentally divulged in a private conversation, that already in May, 1940, he had obtained orders in Siberia to proceed with his detachment to Lithuania and to occupy certain districts. Everything was premeditated by the Soviets.

The correct behavior of the Bolshevik garrisons in the Baltic States which continued during the Finnish War, surprised no one. The Soviet Russians kept to the letter of their pact. Only after the peace treaty with Finland was signed (on March 12, 1940) and after the fall of Paris (on June 13, 1940), did the Bolsheviks reveal their cherished intentions to "save" the Baltic peoples from German domination. In order to cover up all their unprovoked aggression, the Soviets now concocted insinuations that the Baltic States, particularly Latvia, were engaged in military plots against Soviet Russia.

One can only wonder, that the Soviet propaganda tries to hoodwink the world with such transparent falsifications.

The Soviet pamphleteers then proceed rather pathetically:

"There is no reasonable and unbiased statesman in any part of the world who would not recognize that no country in any form should be permitted or given an opportunity to create a protectorate in any form whatsoever over the Baltic countries!" (Page 31). Quite true! But what about Soviet Russia herself? And what did the really unbiased and most reasonable statesmen—those of the United States—say about the ruthless and unprovoked aggressions of the Soviets against the Baltic countries? They flatly and unequivocally condemned it!\*

And why do the Soviet pamphleteers fail to mention their unholy alliances with Hitler, of August 23, 1939, by which they divided Europe into spheres of influence and which enabled Soviet Russia to assail Poland and the Baltic States at a time when Germany was attacking France and England? Subsequent agreements were signed in Moscow on January 10, 1941, fixing the permanent German-Soviet Russian common frontiers, and guaranteeing huge deliveries of Soviet supplies to Germany—nothing is said about the aid, comfort and assistance extended by Soviet Russia to Germany, enabling her to destroy Poland, France, Belgium, and Holland.\*\* Of course, it was easy for the vast Soviet army, with thousands of planes and tanks (2500 tanks for Latvia alone!), to occupy the Baltic democracies which were left without assistance and without contact with the outside world.

---

\* See Appendix: *Text of the Statement of the Under Secretary of State on July 23, 1940.*

\*\* See Appendix: *Text of the Statement of Protest of the Latvian Minister in Washington, on January 12, 1942, against the German-Sov. Russian Frontier Agreement.*

### **Soviet Russia Flagrantly Breaks Treaties with Latvia.**

Really intricate Bolshevik dialectics, however, are achieved by the Soviet pamphleteers in describing the method of their manipulations in deposing the Latvian Government and in putting through the farcical "elections" on July 14, 1940.

The pamphleteers try to convince their readers that the Soviet Union was compelled to demand from Latvia and the other Baltic States the formation of such governments as would be capable and ready to ensure the honest execution of the Latvian-Soviet pact of mutual assistance, to ensure without delay the free entry of Soviet troops into Latvian territory in order to place them in the most important centers of Latvia in such numbers as to secure the possibility of realizing the Latvian-Soviet Pact of Mutual Assistance and to avoid possible provocative acts against Soviet Russians in Latvia.

The pamphlet continues: "Such governments, as is known, were formed in Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania".

However, it is well known how these "governments" were "formed".

The Latvian Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr. V. Munters, presented on June 16, 1940, the ultimatum of the U.S.S.R. to the Latvian Cabinet, and informed the Ministers that this ultimatum must not only be accepted, but must be accepted unanimously by the Ministers of the Cabinet: otherwise the U.S.S.R. would open hostilities and bomb all Latvian cities.

From the moment this ultimatum was accepted the governmental authority for all practical purposes was vested in the Soviet Mission and in the Soviet Army.

It is interesting to note that the Soviet Envoy in Latvia became later, in August, 1940, the head of the "Latvian Soviet Government"!

The new "Latvian Government", established by the Bolsheviks on threat of military invasion and merciless destruction, was really a collection of Bolshevik "Quislings", chosen by the Bolsheviks from the so-called "Society for Cultural Rapprochement between Latvia and Soviet Russia", and picked from the editorial staff of a newspaper "Jaunākās Zinas", whose opportunism was proverbial. The "President" of this "cabinet"—A. Kirchensteins—was also their man. The "new government" was ordered to present itself at the Soviet Embassy in Riga for instructions. A. Kirchensteins, who was the president of the mentioned "cultural rapprochement society", an old man in his dotage, became the Prime Minister: *Solorum bolshevicorum gratia*!

The pamphlet then continues: "They (Quislings) appealed to the peoples of these countries and held elections for the respective parliaments, and for a whole month the peoples of Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia discussed freely the merits of their candidates. The elections were held on strictly democratic lines. In Latvia the

candidates of the block of the "Laboring people of Latvia" received 98% of the votes cast".\*

It is a known fact that the Soviet Embassy and the GPU controlled and directed these "elections", and that the Red army and its daily paraded might not only completely dominated the population, but actually participated in the voting itself.

The Soviet posters and banners were paraded on tanks and other army vehicles through the streets and towns of Latvia. The speakers, recently imported from Soviet Russia, carefully planted Bolshevik fifth columnists, all the stooges that the Bolsheviks could round-up, proceeded to electioneer with all possible help and assistance from the military forces of the Soviet occupation.

During the month that the Bolsheviks claim the "merits" of the candidates were "freely discussed", tanks and artillery were drawn up on the public squares of all cities and towns of Latvia. There was no question that the Bolshevik Military meant business, and their grim preparations were necessary to intimidate and to cow a helpless and stunned population.

No one who has not lived through the experiences of the Bolshevik terror can fully appreciate its crushing impact upon the human spirit. The Latvian nation was well aware of the meaning of the grim game of the Bolsheviks because in 1919 they had tasted the full and bitter measure of the ruthless and wanton execution of thousands upon thousands of innocent and harmless Latvians.

The Latvians know from their own bitter experience, and from observing Bolshevik policy since its inception—and their fundamentals have not changed since Lenin formulated them in 1905—that to them every non-Bolshevik is ipso facto an enemy and a traitor, to be fought and exterminated without justice or mercy. In theory always—and in practice whenever expedient—all non-Bolsheviks are outside the law in Bolshevik policy.

And yet, the Bolsheviks have the colossal effrontery to call their fraudulent and tragically humiliating "elections" strictly "democratic"!

Again we have the testimony of the representatives of the foreign press, and all the foreign diplomatic and consular representatives, many of whom witnessed these "elections".

The candidates of the so-called Laboring People of Latvia, the Alliance of Working People of Estonia, and the Labor Alliance of Lithuania, were all either terrorized stooges and spies or paid agents and Bolshevik provocateurs, who had been planted in the Latvian Labor Movement by the U.S.S.R.

Only one voting list, the communist list, was admitted to the elections. Many of the candidates had not even been asked whether they agreed to stand for election.

Moreover, the number of candidates was always equal to the number of places to be filled, so there was no choice of any kind whatsoever.

\* See Appendix: *Text of statements of protest of the Latvian Minister in Washington, on July 13, 1940, and on July 21, 1940.*

To guard against any write-in candidates, placards were posted calling on the voters not to vote for the enemies of the people! All discussion of candidates or election conditions was forbidden.

Attempts were made by some intrepid souls to express their protests, and to advance the names of other candidates, among them General Balodis, the former Commander of the Latvian Army. We have information on the best authority that every one of those who raised their voice in protest or in criticism disappeared without trace.

### Polish Official Paper Calls Baltic Elections, Engineered by Bolsheviks, a Farce.

The well-informed "Polish Fortnightly Review" in its issue No. 23, of July 1, 1941\*, gave the following description of the so-called "elections" engineered by communists in Lithuania\*\*:

"On July 14, 1940, elections to new Sejms took place in all the three Baltic republics, including Lithuania, and therefore including Wilno and district. *The elections were rather a farce.* No electoral lists were drawn up. Voting took place on presentation of personal documents, which were stamped. The stamp was treated as a kind of certificate of loyalty to the Soviets, and later was used as a reference in obtaining work. Only one voting list, the communist list, was allowed. It consisted of communists and of non-party persons nominated by the Communist Party, and known for their political compliance. Many of those non-party candidates were not even asked if they agreed to stand. Moreover, the number of candidates was strictly equivalent to the number of places to be filled, so that all the candidates had to be elected, irrespective of how many votes each received. Despite the absence of any opposition candidates, and despite the fact that all the candidates on the communist list were nominated by the Communist Party, placards were posted calling on the voters not to vote for the "enemies of the people".

According to the above article of the "Polish Fortnightly Review", there was no secrecy in the voting and the electors could not even put a blank vote into the urns, or vote only a partial list of candidates. Members of the Red army and of the imported Communist Militia were present at the polling stations and the voting really proceeded without any secrecy—if secrecy could be of any avail in these "elections".

But in some instance two urns were maintained—one on an open table at which the voting commission sat, and the other behind a curtain, just to establish the communist claim of "secret democratic voting".

It was explained to every voter that he could drop his vote into the urn behind the curtain if he wished. Those who requested the right to drop their ballots in the screened urn were closely

\* Published by the *Polish Ministry of Information* in London.

\*\* See also "*The Lithuanian Situation*", compiled by the Lithuanian Legation in Washington, June 15, 1941. (mimeographed).

scrutinized, their voting was interfered with by sudden opening of the curtain and their names were entered in a special register.

Special emphasis has to be put upon the record that the Bolsheviks established in regard to those who voted and those who did not. As is well known, in most countries of continental Europe all adults carry domestic passports. And in this connection, the Bolsheviks evolved a very simple system for the elections—there were no records or lists of voters prepared. The polls were open to all, upon representation of passport. And all those who took part in this Bolshevik "election" had a special stamp affixed on their passport.

In this manner the Bolsheviks made a permanent record of all those who did and who did not vote.

And to have a passport without the precious Bolshevik voting stamp of July, 1940, would mean that a person was forever labeled a suspect and obstructionist, an enemy of the people, one who refused to follow the exhortations and the warnings of the communists to vote in this farcical "election", thereby very likely disqualifying himself from all opportunity for employment, from rations and shelter.

To quote again from the "Polish Fortnightly Review":

"The elections to the Baltic Sejms were purely a formality, without any legal or even factual significance, in view of the occupation of the Baltic Republics by the Soviet troops. The Soviet Government could have acted as the repository of the Baltic Republics until Nazi Germany was smashed, and in this case its action would have found some justification in the eyes of humanity, although the loss of independence, which the Baltic nations, during their twenty-two years of independence had come to prize highly, was in any case a heavy blow to them. But the Soviet Government followed the course of sovietization, even of Russification, and was not kid gloved in their dealings with people."

It has also been noted that in order to increase the number of voters the true purpose of Soviet policy, namely the inclusion of Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia in the Soviet Union, was kept concealed from the population before and during the election. Before the election the Communist Party put forth the slogan of cooperation with the Soviet Union, and only some time after the elections did the Communist usurpers announce their intention to incorporate Latvia and the two other Baltic States into the Soviet Union.

At their first sessions the "Peoples Parliament" of the three nations adopted resolutions, all applying to Soviet Russia for admission into the U.S.S.R.

On August 3, 1940, the Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R. "accepted" Lithuania's "request", on August 5 Latvia was "accepted", and on August 7, Estonia.\*

Such were the methods employed by the Soviets to enslave Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania. The Bolsheviks believed that they

---

\* See Appendix: *Text of protest of Latvian Minister on August 5, 1940.*

had completed the annexation of the Baltic States, and become masters of the Baltic nations. Yet the Democracies of the world refused to recognize this predatory act of force, and all the distortions of the Bolshevik dialecticians will never succeed in explaining or justifying their crimes against Latvia and the other Baltic countries.

### **Soviet Russia Wanted to Control the Baltic Sea.**

As to the statement that Soviet Russia "voluntarily" recognized the independence of the Baltic States and Finland, the question arises, why was war waged between Soviet Russia and these countries throughout 1918, 1919 and the first part of 1920?

Only after the Soviet armies were beaten and driven out of the Baltic did the Soviet Government initiate negotiations for peace. The Baltic States and Finland signed peace treaties with Soviet Russia in 1920.

Latvia concluded peace also with Germany on July 15, 1920, after the defeat of Bermond's Army by Latvia's own forces. Since it was no secret that Bermond was supported by Germany, Latvia had declared war on Germany. It is interesting to note that the Weimar Republic was actually behind the furnishing, equipping and financing of a mercenary army of 75,000 under the leadership of Bermond, whose purpose was to conquer the Baltic Countries under the guise of fighting Bolshevism and to establish a German protectorate—another Ostland!

Yet neither Germany nor Russia have any reasonable grounds for wanting to possess and control Latvia and the other Baltic States. Their reasons are dictated by power politics and by imperialism.

These countries are not goals or objects in themselves for Russia or for Germany—they are stepping stones in the policy of totalitarian conquest and domination; they are pawns in the game of imperialism, Nazi or Bolshevik imperialism.

*Soviet Russia wants to control the Baltic Sea, to make a Communistic Lake of it, and to obtain an outlet on the Atlantic Ocean\*.*

*Nazi Germany, too, wants to control the Baltic Sea, to dominate the riparian countries of the Baltic, and to put the Soviet Russian position on the Baltic at her mercy.*

And there will not be, there cannot be peace in Europe till the question of the freedom of the Baltic Sea is firmly established, because that is the only acceptable basis to all nations concerned, including Soviet Russia and Germany. Neither Germany nor Soviet Russia will accept the menace that the domination of the Baltic States by the other power implies: with either Soviet Russia or Germany established on the easterly shore of the Baltic, further conflict and struggle are inevitable.

Not only will justice and humanity be served by reestablishing the Baltic countries as independent States, but it is the best, the only

---

\* Official *Blue-White Book of Finland*, New York, 1941, Page V.



practical, solution for the maintenance of a lasting peace in this part of Europe, and will best serve all legitimate and peaceful interests of Germany and Russia.

### **Soviet Russia's Propaganda in the Baltic States.**

Latvia and the other Baltic States have scrupulously observed their every treaty obligation, including all of their treaties with Soviet Russia.

But the Soviet Government has never been sincere in living up to its treaties, and has systematically violated its obligations and promises, especially in regard to respecting the domestic tranquillity and social order of other States.

Soviet Russia consistently refused to accept the principle of arbitration in her relations with her neighbors and this made it impossible to conclude a true pact of non-aggression.

The Soviet Government consistently violated the most important condition of a peaceful co-assistance of neighboring States, namely the abstention from subversive propaganda and interference with the life of Latvia.

The U.S.S.R. never ceased in its systematic subversive work, qualified as "cultivation of friendly relations with the Red Army"; communistic propaganda flowed incessantly through subterranean channels from Moscow and was directed as the undermining of the peace and social order in the Baltic States, with continuous activities of paid agents of the Soviet Union. *The Latvian Government had accumulated hundreds of confessions of arrested agents of Soviet Russia, proving connection with Moscow.* This documentation was seized by Bolsheviks immediately after their invasion. Frequently these agents were sent into Latvia via Germany and Danzig.

On December 1, 1924, the Soviet agents effected a coup d'état in Tallinn, Estonia, and although a great deal of Soviet money and effort had been put into its preparation, the coup failed completely.

Soviet Russia also organized numerous places d'armes and built strategic railways to its Baltic frontiers. It tolerated on its own soil Baltic Communistic military organizations, military academies and espionage schools, all run by GPU agents under the mask of the Third International.

After the Soviet forces invaded Latvia on June 17, 1940, there suddenly appeared as from nowhere hundreds of Communist agents, strategically placed throughout the country and trained for the special purpose of taking over the administration of Latvia.

These agents have admitted that they had been preparing for this occasion for more than two years and that they had been promised that their new promotions and Soviet executive positions in Latvia would materialize much earlier.

### **Soviet Russia's Hatred Against Free Press.**

The communists always manifested a special dislike for the Latvian free press, and against representatives of the Foreign Press, to whom Latvia afforded full scope of action within their field.

The U.S.S.R. repeatedly brought pressure to bear upon the Latvian Government, requesting that Latvia institute a censorship for foreign news dispatches. But this Latvia refused. It is clear to all, especially after several recently-published books by American journalists, with considerable experience in Soviet Russia, that the Foreign Press never had any freedom in Soviet Russia, either in regard to obtaining or sending objective information, opinion and news.

But Soviet Russia was not content to control the representatives of the Foreign Press on its own territory. It also wanted to stifle the free expression of information about the Soviet paradise emanating from foreign correspondents stationed in Latvia and other adjoining countries, because these news dispatches could not fail but impress the world with the remarkable recovery, contentment, freedom and prosperity of Latvia, living in the atmosphere of democracy, free enterprise and social justice, in contrast to the poverty and low standard of life in Soviet Russia.

After the occupation of Latvia, the Red army expelled the representatives of the foreign press and introduced the strictest possible censorship for all mails, with the result that for the year of communist occupation not more than a few dozen private letters reached America.

#### **Soviet Russia Destroyed Potential Baltic Military Assistance Against Germans.**

This is a fact that should never be underestimated—especially now: the Germans would never have achieved such easy success in their invasion of Russia if the army of Latvia had not been destroyed and the population terrorized into insensibility. The Latvians alone would have without question provided trained and eager manpower for 10 divisions, that would have fought valiantly with the Russians against the German invaders if there had been the slightest intention on the part of the Soviet to respect the integrity of the Latvian State.

It should be noted here that in the first World War, the Latvians eagerly sought and obtained permission from the Czarist Russian Government to form their own regiments of "Latvian Rifles". These "Latvian Rifles" were stationed in 1915 on the Daugava front, which was held by them for two years against all the onslaughts of Hindenburg until the entire Russian front collapsed in the revolution of 1917. Even Fieldmarshal Hindenburg called them the "shining stars" of the Duna-front.

This heroic struggle of the "Latvian Rifles" will forever remain a proud leaf in Latvia's struggle against the traditional enemy of the Latvian nation against the "Black Knight" of Latvian folklore, the Teuton. The Latvian superman—"Latchplesis" or the Bear-slayer, the legendary hero of Latvia, is still alive and still fights against the black and the red robber barons.

If Soviet Russia had only respected her treaties with Latvia

and the other Baltic States she could have found no more ready military allies against aggressive Germany. But, to the great distress of Latvia, Soviet Russia herself signed a pact with Hitler on August 23, 1939, at the expense of the Great Democracies.

Soviet Russia claimed at the time that this was done to preserve peace in the Baltic and to "protect" the Baltic peoples against Germany and mutual "assistance" treaties were even signed between the U.S.S.R. and the Baltic States, leasing for the duration of war to the U.S.S.R. strategic military and naval bases.

Latvia and other Baltic nations signed these treaties in good faith and in the hope that their capacity to resist German aggression would be greatly increased by the alliance with Russia. The Soviets, however, with complete disregard for treaties, obligations and rights, assaulted and destroyed Latvia and the other Baltic countries, giving an easy opportunity to Hitler to realize—if only temporarily and precariously—the German avarice for "Ostland".

Soviet Russia proved her real intentions when she assaulted Finland in November, 1939. It was then that the Baltic peoples realized the seriousness of their position.

But even then Latvia and the Baltic Nations hoped against hope, as it must seem now in retrospect, that the Soviet Union would not play the *suicidal game of destroying the help and assistance of the Baltic Countries for the inevitable clash with Hitler*, because it is manifestly true that Germany will always do everything within its power to prevent Russia from dominating the Baltic Sea. If Soviet Russia should break through Norway and reach Narvik it would mean the domination not only of the Baltic Sea but also of the Scandinavian countries and of Germany. The Bolshevik program of sovietizing of Scandinavia would follow the pattern established in Latvia and the other Baltic countries, and there is no question that an Atlantic outlet in Scandinavia is one of the objects of Soviet imperialism. They do not need Baltic harbors for economic purposes or strategic defense purposes, but for imperialistic purposes of aggression.

Soviet Russia, however, is not the only country to covet the domination over the Baltic Sea and Scandinavia and to bring charges against Latvia for plotting against it. Germany is the other candidate and Germans also accused Latvia of plotting against them! Of course, it is amusing to observe how the totalitarian—German and Soviet Russian—propaganda methods coincided, as in so many other cases. As a matter of fact, the Latvian Government has consistently been pro-Latvian, pro-Baltic and pro-democratic. Neither a German victory nor a Russian victory in the last world war would have given Latvia her independence—but the *victory of the Democratic Allies did recognize the American principles of self-determination, and enabled the Latvian nation and the other Baltic nations to become masters of their own homelands and of their shores of the Baltic Sea.*

### Latvian Envoys in London and in Washington Condemned for Pro-Democratic Sympathies.

The Latvian President Karlis Ulmanis, Vice-President General Janis Balodis and the Latvian Cabinet of Ministers, now deported to Soviet Russian prison camps, placed their faith and their hopes in the Democracies, fully trusting in the victory of the Democracies and the principles of international justice. The Latvian Government designated its Minister in London and its Minister in Washington to hold Latvian Emergency State authority, and special power of attorney\* for emergency action were issued to the Latvian Ministers in London and in Washington. No powers of attorney of any kind, nor authorization for emergency action were issued to the Latvian Ministers in the Axis or pro-Axis Capitals. Where is the proof of any hidden pro-German sympathies, alleged by the Bolsheviks, in the face of this evidence that the Latvians base all their future hopes and their policy on the victory of the Allies?

In passing, it might be noted here that the Soviet authorities in Riga condemned both Latvian Ministers—Zarins in London and Bilmanis in Washington—confiscating their properties, and imprisoning their families. Furthermore, the Latvian Soviet Government has declared Ministers Zarins and Bilmanis outside the law, a proceeding that has no place in the legal structure of the civilized world.\*\* We can understand the reasons for the communist fury against Ministers Zarins and Bilmanis. They form a fundamentally vital link between the Latvian State and the Democracies. As long as these Ministers are recognized as the Latvian representatives, Latvia will continue to exist although occupied by foreign invaders—at present the Nazi Germans have succeeded the Bolsheviks and are continuing the work of exploitation and oppression started in Latvia by Stalin.

### After all: Soviet Politicians Admit to Be Themselves “Politically Blind People”.

The pamphleteers concluded the presentation of their case with the following sentence (page 32) :

“Only politically blind people or the hopelessly stupid did not understand that had Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia not entered the Soviet Union, in 1940, they would have shared the fate of Czechoslovakia, Norway, Denmark and other countries which have been enslaved by Hitler.”

But today Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia *are enslaved* by Hitler and *it is the result of the Bolshevik crime* against the Baltic countries which brought about a double invasion—first by the Bolsheviks and now by the Nazis—with untold destruction of life and property and suffering beyond imagination.

What dictated the aggressive action of the Soviet Government against the Baltic States? *Certainly not the legitimate interests*

\* See Appendix: *Power of Attorney*.

\*\* By Decree of July 30, 1940.

of the Russian State—only the interests of the new imperialism of the Communist Party and the Third International, the necessity to register new successes in their policy of world revolution. Thus Soviet Russia demonstrated the policy of conquest and aggression which remains an inherent fundamental of all autocracies and totalitarian dictatorships. These are the real reasons why Soviet Russia broke all of its (more than 30) treaties, and conventions with Latvia.

## CHAPTER VI

### RECORD OF MOST IMPORTANT TREATIES WITH LATVIA VIOLATED BY SOVIETS.

The ignominious record of violation of international law and treaty obligations can briefly be summarized in the following:

1. Soviet Russia broke the *Latvian-Soviet Russian Peace Treaty*, signed on August 11, 1920—and “forever”!\*
2. Soviet Russia tore to pieces the *Non-Aggression Treaty with Latvia*, signed on March 9, 1927, and extended on April 4, 1934, until December 31, 1945;
3. Soviet Russia violated the *Kellogg-Briand-Litvinov Pact*, signed on February 9, 1929, to which Latvia was a party.
4. Soviet Russia disregarded also the *Convention for the Definition of Aggressor*, of which the Soviet Union was even the initiator and signatory. This convention was signed between Soviet Russia and Latvia on July 5, 1933, in London.

Let us review the most important articles of the latter convention, for instance:

*Article 2.* “... Accordingly, the aggressor in an international conflict shall, without prejudice to the agreements in force between the parties to the dispute, be considered to be that State which is the first to commit any following actions:

- a. declaration of war upon another State;
- b. invasion by its armed forces, with or without a declaration of war, of the territory of another State;
- c. attack by its land, naval or air forces with or without a declaration of war on the territory, vessels or aircraft of another State.”

*Article 3.* “No political, military, economic or other consideration may serve as an excuse or justification for the aggression referred to in Article 2.”

In a supplement to the above-mentioned convention of the Definition of Aggressor, also signed by Latvia and Soviet Russia,

---

\* See Appendix: *Text of Article 2 of Latvian-Sov. Russian Peace Treaty.*

a definition is given of the meaning of the term non-aggression, mentioned in Article 3 of that Treaty, namely:

"No act of aggression in the meaning of Article 2 of the mentioned convention, among others, can be justified by any of the following circumstances: Internal situation of State. For instance, her political, economic or social structure, faults attributed to her administration . . .", and further: "This convention shall never be a justification for violation of international law, which could be implicated under circumstances mentioned in the above-given enumeration . . ."

5. Soviet Russia also violated the *Latvian-Soviet Russian Pact of Mutual Assistance*, signed on October 5, 1939.

It was specifically stipulated in this treaty that the realization of the treaty must not infringe upon the sovereign rights of the Contracting Parties or upon the structure of their States, their economic and social systems and military instruments. This treaty clearly and emphatically recognized and declared the principle of non-intervention of the signatory States in the internal affairs of each other.

6. Soviet Russia, by refusing to negotiate or even to investigate or to examine or discuss its alleged claims and accusations against Latvia committed a *flagrant breach of articles 10 and 12 of the Covenant of the League of Nations*, which read as follows:

*Article 10.* "The Members of the League undertake to respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of the Members of the League . . ."

*Article 12.* "The Members of the League agree that if there should arise between them any dispute likely to lead to a rupture, they will submit the matter either to arbitration or judicial settlement or to inquiry by the Council, and they agree in no case to resort to war until three months after the award by the arbitrators or the judicial decision or the report by the council.

**Bolsheviks Committed Shocking Violation of Sacred Rights of Latvian Nation.**

Uncontestable facts and incontrovertible evidence prove overwhelmingly that Soviet Russia's ultimatum issued to Latvia on June 16, 1940, was completely unfounded and was effected by threats of immediate invasion, the bombing of Latvian cities and by the institution of an unbounded terror and persecution of the Latvian nation and its government, and that the military occupation and subsequent

annexation of Latvia by Soviet Russia was brought about against the will of the population of Latvia.

It must be emphasized here that the government formed after the Soviet occupation at the dictation of the Red army and the Soviet Embassy, and constituted by the hostile foreign invader was ipso facto illegal; representing no one but Soviet Russia. The so-called parliamentary "elections" of July 14-15, 1940, were carried out under intimidation and terror, under the domination of G. P. U. agents and in the menacing shadow of the bayonets, tanks and guns of Soviet Russia's Red army and navy. The so-called Latvian "Peoples Parliament" resulting from this "election" was a tool of usurpation of the invading foreign power and as such was devoid of any constitutional and legal basis or power, and to ascribe any to it is a mockery of law and justice. Therefore, this Communist-selected and controlled "Peoples Parliament" was totally incompetent to legislate for Latvia, and all of its acts are null and void because they represent the dictates of a hostile foreign aggressor. The resolution adopted by this "Peoples Parliament" for the incorporation of Latvia into the Soviet Union was adopted against the will of the Latvian nation, in shocking violation of Latvian sovereignty and constitution and has no legal value or power or any binding effect upon the Latvian nation or upon the Latvian State.\*

Soviet Russia violated all of its treaties and obligations in regard to Latvia. It robbed the Latvian people of their most sacred rights, the right of sovereignty, the right of self-determination, the elementary right to live an independent and free life in peace and happiness and the right to work and to contribute their share to the general welfare. Soviet Russia, within the short period of one year of its occupation, destroyed the religious, the cultural and economic life of Latvia. It also destroyed the armed forces of Latvia and made Latvia defenseless against the imminent German invasion, which was inevitable and which was made easier for Germany and more disastrous for Soviet Russia by the short-sighted policy of Soviet Russia in attacking the Baltic Countries and all of its other western neighbor States.

## CHAPTER VII

### NAZI GERMANS FOLLOW IN BOLSHEVIK FOOTSTEPS.

#### Vengeance of Fleeing Bolsheviks.\*\*

As early as June 15, 1941, extensive mass arrests began in Latvia and, within a few days, scores of thousands of arrested persons were taken to Russia. The Bolsheviks, openly and without any hesitation, began to terrorize the inhabitants of the Baltic countries. Never have the Baltic States experienced a reign of terror such as this. It would appear that, before leaving the Baltic States, the G. P. U. oppressors had determined to destroy the entire Baltic intel-

\* See Appendix: *Text of the Latvian Constitution.*

\*\* See Appendix: *Bolsheviks Deported Latvian Intellectuals for Political Reasons.*

ligentsia. After the retreat of the Bolsheviks, hundreds of farms were found without a single inhabitant. This was the vengeance of the fleeing Bolsheviks because the Baltic peoples had refused to accept the Communistic doctrines and regime.

### **Lithuanians and Latvians Overthrow Bolshevik Regime Before German Invasion.**

Toward the close of June, 1941, having heard of the advance of the German Army and seeing the Russians evacuating the country, the Latvians, Lithuanians and Estonians, embittered by the Bolshevik oppression and persecution, both in the cities and in the rural districts, revolted. Even before the entrance of the German troops into Kaunas, on June 23, 1941, the patriotic Lithuanians succeeded in proclaiming Lithuania free again and in forming a National Government. The patriotic youth of Riga, the Capital of Latvia, and those officers and national guardsmen who had been able to hide during Bolshevik occupation started the insurrection in Riga and occupied the most important buildings and the radio station. Simultaneously the national guardsmen started a revolt in the rural districts.

On June 28, 1941, Stockholm reported that the Riga radio station had broadcast that the Bolshevik regime had been overthrown, that Latvia had once more been declared independent and free, and that a temporary government was being organized there. This happened before the entrance of German troops into Latvia. It was probably true, for on June 29, 1941, the Bolsheviks, fleeing from Lithuania along the left bank of the river Daugava in great numbers, overpowered and shot those participating in the revolt and then read the names of hundreds of these murdered persons over the same Riga broadcasting station. After this the station was no longer in operation. It appears that an artillery battle was waged for three days in Tornkalns, a suburb of Riga south of the Daugava river, between the Germans and the Russians.

### **German-Nazis Suppress Latvian National Movement.**

The German troops entered Riga on July 1, 1941, took control of the radio, and started to broadcast their own program. After this nothing more was heard about any Latvian National Government in Riga. The Germans simply occupied Latvia and took full control, disregarding all existing treaties between Latvia and Germany. They acted in similar fashion in Lithuania and later in Estonia. One thing is certain, wherever the Nazi Germans established themselves they did not support the formation of a national government, but, on the contrary, proceeded to suppress the newly-proclaimed independent governments, to prohibit the display of national flags and the singing or playing of national anthems; they introduced complete domination of a German administration backed by German military force, just as the Bolsheviks had. The Bolsheviks invaded Latvia posing as protectors from imminent German



invasion; the Nazis, posing as liberators from Bolshevik domination, ruthlessly invaded the Baltic countries and took them under their control. That was the trick Hitler played with the Bolsheviks.

### German Nazis Claim Rights to Soviet Inheritance.

The German push towards territories east of Germany never stopped. The Treaty of Brest-Litovsk in March, 1918, and the last treaty of Moscow on August 23, 1939, are self-revealing documents of German intentions resulting from the Soviet Russian trend for appeasement. As a result of this shortsightedness of Soviet foreign policy, the well-prepared armies of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia (about 500,000 strong) were disorganized, and the Baltic peoples, like the Finns, became the bitter enemies of Communistic Soviet Russia, due to the ruthless Communist occupation of their countries. Besides, Germany obtained very advantageous strategic positions on Polish territory and in Rumania, i.e. in the eastern and southern directions, especially fit for the so-called "pincer movements". Within ten days after the Germans had begun their attack on Soviet Russia, Bolshevik troops were withdrawn from Soviet strategic positions in Lithuania and Latvia, and were in full retreat over Estonia to Leningrad, because the road to the southeast was already cut off by the German flank movements. The result was that the territories of the Baltic Republics and of White Ruthenia were occupied by German military forces in the shortest time and soon proclaimed, by special decree of the German Government on July 28, 1941, to constitute the new German province of "Ostland", something like the "Ostmark", the ancient name of Austria. Moreover, the Nazis cynically announced a new theory—the theory of being the "heirs to the Soviet inheritance". On October 19, 1941, the *Deutsche Zeitung im Ostland*, the official organ of the German Reichskommissar für das Ostland, published an authoritative announcement, issued by Dr. W. Zimmermann, the Reichskommissar's chief of press, concerning property rights in the territory occupied by Germany. In this matter the point of view of official Germany is briefly, as follows:

"At the commencement of the German-Soviet war (June 22, 1941) private property did not exist in the countries under Soviet rule, so nobody could claim to be a legal proprietor. By sacrificing the blood of German soldiers, all these countries were liberated. The German Reich, therefore, becomes the legal heir to the Soviet inheritance."

Judging from decrees signed by Reichskommissar of the "Ostland", Mr. H. Lohse, and published on October 17, 1941, it is evident that even the former owners of real estate, buildings, and factories in the Baltic Countries now have to pay rent to the German Government. Similarly all industrial enterprises have to pay even for the raw materials which they have in stock. This same policy also applies to farms and forests. By such acts the Germans indirectly legalize Bolshevik practices and even profit by them. Thus

the German forces of occupation simply became "neo-Bolsheviks".\*

These acts of the German Government are, without any question, ruthless violations of all treaties, conventions, and pacts signed between Germany and the Baltic Republics. The Germans are now committing the same "abuse"\*\*\* as did the Bolsheviks when they subjugated the Baltic Republics by military force on June 15-17, 1940. The Germans are now boasting that they are the "liberators" of the Baltic nations, although a year ago they permitted the Bolsheviks to occupy the territories of these nations.

By renaming the Baltic States and White Ruthenia, "Ostland", and thus suppressing their legal names, the Germans are trying to pull them down to the level of Eastern Europe, since everybody knows that Eastern Europe, mostly under Bolshevik domination, has a low degree of civilization. The fact that these nations are situated geographically east of Germany does not matter. This does not make these nations, as the Germans say, "*minderwertig*", i.e. of less value. These nations belong to the occidental Western European World to a much greater degree than Germany does, because she cannot claim, in true sincerity, to be of Western European Culture. Actually she is not. The German language does not even possess German words for such ideas as "culture" or "civilization"! Germany was not an originator nor a co-creator of Western European Civilization. The Germans were only bad disciples of Paris and Rome and appropriated occidental culture in a very superficial way.\*\*\* A highly developed technical civilization does not cover all; there must also be a highly developed spiritual civilization and democracy. German propaganda cannot convince anyone that the nations east of Germany do not deserve to be free and self-governing, just as German propaganda cannot convince the world that the German race is the supreme race. History teaches us that the Germans are not invincible, if they are opposed by organized force.

### German Invaders in Latvia.

News from Latvia is coming slowly because the policy of the German invaders is to keep the lands which they have occupied as hermetically closed from the outer world as they possibly can. In the Baltic they are carrying out this policy even more strictly than elsewhere and the geographical remoteness of Latvia from Western Europe is helping them. Yet from the rather scanty, but reliable, information which has reached the outer world, it has been possible to form a general picture. This is very melancholy. The state to which the Latvians have been reduced is horrible. They are subject to a rule of complete lawlessness, as the Germans are outside the

\* René Kraus, *Europe in Revolt*, New York, 1942, p. p. 532-542.

\*\* The expression used by Herr von Ribbentropp when he referred to the Bolshevik grab of the Baltic States in his note of June 22, 1941, which proclaimed the status of war between Germany and Soviet Russia.

\*\*\* A. Schwabe, *History of Latvian Law*, Riga, 1935, Page 14.

jurisdiction of ordinary law Courts. The Germans are responsible only to their own superiors, their own Gestapo and their own courts. Any sentence passed by the Latvian Courts can at any time be revoked by the German authorities as being against the interests of the German Reich or contrary to the German conception of law ("Rechtsempfinden"). Everyday necessities are rationed and although the Latvians can obtain twice as much meat, butter, etc., as the Jews, many indispensable commodities, such as soap, etc., are unobtainable by Latvians, whereas Germans are outside all these restrictions.

There is no direct evidence of actual German atrocities against human life or information about the number of cases of such atrocities. In this respect German news restriction has been successful. Still, there is plenty of indirect evidence which testifies that in Latvia, as everywhere else that where the Germans go, blood sticks to their fingers. They make constant threats over the wireless and in their newspapers that sympathisers of Soviet Russia or Britain will be treated with equal ruthlessness. As a typical indication, it should be mentioned only the speech of one of the local German commissars to a gathering of young Latvian teachers. He tried to impress on their minds the necessity to bring up as good Nazi citizens those Latvian children whose parents have been shot as Communists. This speaks for itself.

In one respect, however, the Germans seem still to exercise a certain amount of tolerance. They allow free religious worship. What their plans are for the future it is impossible to say, but one may surmise that this tolerance was introduced as a contrast measure to the Russian policy of severe restrictions on religious life.

The economic policy of the Germans is directed towards a depletion from Latvia of its riches. Farmers are permitted to sell their produce only to the official collecting organizations, at the prices fixed by the Germans. An exproprietary rate of exchange of the German mark has been set, a very thorough registration of goods and commodities introduced, and all trade rigorously controlled.

As a very significant measure of German policy in Latvia should be mentioned the retention of all the nationalization laws introduced by the Russians. The Germans promptly declared that all legislative acts passed during the communist rule in Latvia were to be invalid, yet they also declared that all property which belonged to the Soviet Russian State at the time of the German entry into Latvia became the property of the German Reich. The return to private ownership has been promised at some vague future date but only to those persons whose professional and personal qualifications are regarded as satisfactory. This undoubtedly means that only Nazis and their "collaborators" will receive back what is their own. It can also be speculated that perhaps the German authorities have in mind a comprehensive plan of colonizing Latvia and other Baltic countries by Germans when they return from the battle front. So it appears that the decline of prosperity in Latvia to a low proletariat

level has suited German intentions very well. Therefore, the present rule in Latvia can with a certain justification be regarded, from the point of view of the Latvian nation, as only a continuation of the communist rule and methods.

## CHAPTER VIII

### SOVIET RUSSIA DISREGARDS THE ATLANTIC CHARTER.

Regardless of the fact that Soviet Russia is no more in possession of the Baltic territories, the Soviet Russian Government still stubbornly insists on some imaginary right to dominate the Baltic, although it is more than evident that Soviet Russia, in contradiction to the Atlantic Charter, perpetrated the most ruthless aggression in the Baltic region.\* Mr. J. Stalin, President of the Soviet of Peoples' Commissars of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, in his last official anniversary speech on November 6, 1941, i.e., on the eve of the anniversary's day, November 7—contrary to the views of his Ambassador Maisky in London, who during the II Interallied Conference in London, on September 24, 1941, solemnly adhered to the Atlantic Charter—still continued to claim the Baltic States. He proclaimed two war aims: 1. "to free our own territory", in which he includes *expressis verbis* the Baltic States, grabbed by ruthless aggression; 2. "to free the enslaved peoples of Europe and then allow them to decide their own future *without any outside*" (except for his own, naturally) "interference in their internal affairs". This second aim is much larger than the first. Everybody now knows what this language really means. The spectacular commitment of Ambassador Maisky in London to the principles of the Atlantic Charter was obviously only lip service. It does not contradict the Soviet policy, because the Communists understand all principles of their own dialectic way.\*\*

The most striking proof of the Soviet Russian dialectics is the agreement signed with the Polish Government-in-Exile, on July 30, 1941, concerning the reestablishment of relations between Poland and Soviet Russia. There is no mention at all of the Polish eastern frontiers. The official Soviet Russian Gazette "*Izvestija*" announced the following (after the conclusion of the treaty): "We do not regard the Polish-Soviet frontiers, established by the Riga Treaty of 1921, as immutable. There is no doubt that statesmanship and goodwill of both parties will insure a successful solution of this problem in the future"—so it is now no more than a "problem" for the Bolsheviks! Evidently the Bolsheviks speculate that if they should win the war they would have a free hand to take as much of Poland as they would or could. In that case the fate of Finland and the Central Baltic States—Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania—would also be sealed: they would be doomed. That is why the Bolsheviks openly disregarding the stipulations of the Atlantic Charter refuse to commit themselves to the release of their unjustifiable

---

\* See Appendix: *Text of the Atlantic Charter.*

\*\* See Appendix: *Text of Sov.-Russia's Treaty of Alliance with Iran based on the Atlantic Charter.*

control over the Baltic States and over the territories occupied in Finland, Poland, Rumania, White Ruthenia, and the Ukraine. There can be no doubt but that such an uncertain situation promises no good for these States.

The return of Bolshevik rule would be absolutely unacceptable to and unthinkable for the Central Baltic States. It would mean a struggle to the last. The Baltic peoples, numbering some six millions, know that the return of the Bolsheviks would signalize the complete extermination of the Baltic Nations. It is unbelievable that the Christian world would permit the Bolsheviks to commit such a sacrilege. The Baltic peoples believe confidently that such a thing can never happen,—they firmly trust the Atlantic Charter.

## CHAPTER IX

### PEOPLE OF LATVIA ARE OPPOSED TO COMMUNISM AND NAZIISM ALIKE.

The brutal invasions of Latvia have not destroyed the will of its people to fight again for their freedom as they have done in the past.

The Latvian people have emphasized on every occasion their determination to continue their struggle for their independence with all the means at their disposal, and this determination must be re-emphasized, in full realization of the temporarily tremendous odds against Latvia in this struggle—an agricultural nation of 2,000,000 people, being coveted as it is by the totalitarian dictators on its East and on its West, both by Soviet Russia and by Nazi Germany. But *the people of Latvia have never accepted Communism and Russian Bolshevism, and they have not and never will accept German domination, Nazism and Teutonic oppression.\** The Latvian people will continue to struggle against its oppressors and foreign invaders and it is not their fault that they have been deprived of the means to fight the *traditional enemy Number 1 of the Latvian nation—the Teuton.*

The policy of the democratic countries in refusing to recognize the aggressions perpetrated against Latvia by Soviet Russia and by Germany and particularly the stand of the United States, taken in this respect together with other Democracies of the world, is a priceless source of moral consolation and encouragement for all Latvians throughout the world in their struggle to continue their traditional resistance to the Nazi subjugation and to carry on their fight for justice and for a free and independent Latvia.

The declaration of the principle by Secretary of State Cordell Hull, that mere seizure of territory does not extinguish the legal existence of a government,\*\* and the declared application to Latvia

\* See Appendix: *Statement of the Latvian Minister, regarding the German-Soviet Russian War*, released to the Press on June 25, 1941. Also *Statement* released on July 28, 1942, *condemning the Stooze General-Directorate.*

\*\* *The Department of State Bulletin*; October 7, 1939, p. 342.

See also Appendix: *Status of Austria.*

of the principles of the historic Atlantic Charter raises new hopes for a better life in a better world after the victory of the democracies, in a world with justice, international law and President Roosevelt's four freedoms reestablished.

### Small States Not Responsible for This War.\*

Concerning certain statements "that there should not exist small states close to vital points of Soviet industry which can be made use of by hostile powers as a base for attack",—it should be noted that on the contrary—the existence of such free homogeneous small States on the Baltic shores between Germany and Soviet Russia *guarantees peace and freedom of the Baltic Sea*, and also the integrity of Soviet Russia. The supreme condition of peace and stability in the Baltic region was shattered by Soviet Russia herself when she concluded with Nazi Germany the treaty of spheres of influence (on August 23, 1939).

Latvia has certainly proved that she can live and prosper as an independent democratic State, faithfully fulfilling her international obligations, always supporting collective peace, security and collaboration devoted to a policy of stability and maintenance of peace and has nothing to gain from bloodshed, war and destruction.

The record of Latvia's international policy and conduct is clearly beyond reproach—by no act of commission or omission has Latvia in the remotest degree contributed to any cause leading directly or indirectly to the present war.

The Latvian nation with its life disorganized in 1940 by the Bolshevik ruthless occupation, further devastated in 1941 by the battles waged upon Latvian soil between Nazi German and Soviet Russian armies, is now bleeding from German terror. *Latvia nevertheless continues to struggle against Nazi Germans as numerous press dispatches and other information testify.\*\**

## CHAPTER X

### FREEDOM OF BALTIC STATES—GUARANTEE FOR FREEDOM OF THE BALTIC SEA.

It is evident from facts of recent Political History of Europe that as long as the Baltic States and Poland are free and independent, the Baltic Sea—the Mediterranean of the North—also remains free and peace is thereby guaranteed in this part of Europe. The moment this equilibrium is no longer present and one of the big States—Germany or Russia—becomes predominant on the shores of the Baltic, the other will begin a struggle for the dominium of the Baltic and the result is detrimental not only for the struggling powers but also for the peace of Europe and even for the whole world.

\* See Appendix: *Speech of His Excellency J. Bech, Foreign Minister of Luxembourg.*

\*\* René Kraus, *Europe in Revolt*, New York, 1942. p. 532-542.

Although Germany and Russia agreed on August 23, 1939, upon spheres of influence in Eastern Europe and eliminated the Baltic Countries and Poland by dividing them, this did not contribute to the maintenance of peace between them, but on the contrary it led to the German attack upon Russia, on June 22, 1941.

Nor did Soviet Russia's aggrandizement and the so-called strategic positions acquired at the expenses of the independence of the Baltic Countries improve the Soviet position from a strategic point of view.

An entirely different situation would prevail today if Soviet Russia had fulfilled her obligations to Poland and to the Baltic States and had supported these countries as against Germany.

Soviet Russia preached for years collective security, but was instrumental in eliminating a powerful bulwark against Germany.

In order that the Baltic Sea may be free for world trade, and to avoid repeated clashes between Germany and Russia, it is absolutely indispensable that Latvia and her neighbors be reinstated as independent countries.

They will find means for closer collaboration among themselves and other Northern-Central European nations on the basis of the Atlantic Charter. American people know that.\*

The idea of the *Baltic Union* and a feeling of solidarity with the Western European World existed among the Baltic peoples even before they achieved their independence and has guided their international policy ever since.

It is clear that the establishment of a system of guarantees for the preservation of peace in Europe is an indispensable condition of Europe's moral and economic regeneration after the victory of the Great Democracies and also for the welfare of the oppressed Latvian and other Baltic peoples and for the sustaining of freedom of the Baltic Sea. An economic-political confederation of regional unions of homogenous ethnographical States in Central-Northern Europe, based on the principles of the Atlantic Charter under the leadership of the victorious Great Democracies is what we visualize for the future.

The Latvian nation is well acquainted with the brutal methods of unrestricted and barbaric force and oppression, and, as a numerically small nation, Latvia can only appeal to the public opinion and moral conscience of mankind. Latvia pleads on the basis of law and justice, on the basis of moral rights and humanity. It is well to remember that the first national Declaration, pleading for the freedom of a nation on moral and legal grounds, is the immortal American Declaration of Independence. The fundamental principles of this great document are as valid today as they were in 1776, and civilized, progressive human society now, as ever, can only be based on the unalienable rights of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

We cannot conceive of national life without family life, private property, social justice, and religion. We cannot conceive of international relations, of economical and cultural intercourse between

---

\* See Appendix: *American Public Opinion*.

nations without International Justice and International Law. There can be no existence for small nations or racial minorities until these principles are generally accepted. And the big and powerful countries will not enjoy the blessing of peace until a new order is founded on the basis of universal justice, voluntary cooperation and equal freedom for all mankind.\*

The Latvian nation joins the civilized world in condemning the infamous aggression of Nazi Germany, Italy and Japan against Latvia's friends—the Democracies of the World.

The Latvian nation is ready and willing to join all other nations fighting these aggressors and to support the principles of the declaration by the United Nations.\*\* The Latvian nation is also willing to contribute its full share of work and sacrifice to rebuild Europe on the foundations of a lasting collaboration of all nations.

---

\* Dr. Alfred Bilmanis, *Latvia in the Present World Crisis*, 1941, Washington, D. C.

\*\* See Appendix: *Statement of the Latvian Minister*, released to the Press on January 4, 1942.



**PART II**

**APPENDICES**

## LATVIA—SOURCE OF GOOD INCOME FOR CZARIST RUSSIA.

Report on Russian Budget Revenues and Expenditure in 1913.  
(compiled after the "Yezhegodnik Ministerstva Finansov")\*  
(in million gold Roubles).

## A. PROVINCES WITH SURPLUS

Provinces and districts	Ordinary		Comparison of ordinary revenue and expenditure		Extraordinary		Comparison of total revenue and expenditure	
	Revenue	Expenditure	Surplus	Deficit	Revenue	Expenditure	Surplus	Deficit
Southern, south-western and Little Russia (or Ukraine).....	632.6	504.3	128.3	.....	0.3	18.6	110.0	.....
Poland.....	248.1	161.8	86.3	.....	.....	5.9	80.4	.....
Central Industrial Provinces with Moscow.....	335.5	250.0	85.5	.....	.....	12.6	72.9	.....
Baltic Provinces** (all).....	111.0	73.4	37.6	.....	0.2	1.2	36.6	.....
Black Sea.....	210.2	166.1	44.1	.....	0.1	11.7	32.5	.....
State Bank.....	946.6	227.2	719.4	.....	2.7	21.3	700.0	.....
Total.....	2,484.0	1,382.8	1,101.2	.....	3.3	71.3	1,033.2	.....

\*\* Under Baltic Provinces were meant, Kurland, Livonia and Estonia.

## B. PROVINCES WITH DEFICITS

Provinces and districts	Ordinary		Comparison of ordinary revenue and expenditure		Extraordinary		Comparison of total revenue and expenditure	
	Revenue	Expenditure	Surplus	Deficit	Revenue	Expenditure	Surplus	Deficit
St. Petersburg.....	370.7	666.8	.....	296.1	9.9	103.9	.....	390.1
Siberia.....	122.5	248.3	.....	125.8	0.1	89.6	.....	215.3
North-Western.....	100.6	140.3	.....	39.7	.....	14.2	.....	53.9
Eastern.....	169.1	199.8	.....	30.7	0.4	13.9	.....	44.2
Transcaucasian.....	72.3	96.5	.....	24.2	0.1	6.1	.....	30.2
Central Asia.....	28.4	48.4	.....	20.0	.....	0.7	.....	20.7
Northern.....	51.9	54.1	.....	2.2	.....	0.8	.....	3.0
Finland.....	6.2	18.5	.....	12.3	.....	0.5	.....	12.8
Foreign countries.....	11.7	184.9	.....	173.2	.....	0.1	.....	173.3
Total.....	933.4	1,657.6	.....	724.2	10.5	229.8	.....	943.5
Grand Total.....	3,417.4	3,040.4	377.0	.....	13.8	301.1	89.7	.....

\* Statistical Yearbook of the Russian Ministry of Finance for 1913.

From the above table we see that the smaller part of Russia—the non-Russian Border countries—the Baltic States, Poland and the Ukraine gave more income than the greater part of Russia. The producing provinces, yielding a net surplus of 1,033.2 million gold roubles, made good for the deficit of the other parts and even then yielded a net profit of 89.2 million gold roubles. These receipts went to maintain the Court, diplomatic missions abroad, the whole State apparatus, the army, financing trade and industry, public works, etc. To these principal sources of revenue belonged, as we observe from the above figures, Ukraine (110.0 millions), Poland (80.4 millions net surplus) and the Baltic Provinces (36.6 millions net surplus).

Here is that portion of the Russian budget which refers only to Latvia (gold roubles are converted into gold francs):

### Revenue of Latvia in 1913.

	<i>Gold Francs</i>
Direct Taxes.....	22,071,624
Indirect Taxes.....	115,587,005
Customs.....	24,721,370
State Monopolies.....	67,819,308
Sale of State Property.....	17,766
Repayment of Advance by State.....	8,835,055
Various Revenue.....	734,461
Arrears.....	5,383
<b>Total of Ordinary Revenue.....</b>	<b>234,791,972</b>
<b>Extraordinary Revenue.....</b>	<b>313,746</b>
<b>Grand Total.....</b>	<b>235,105,718</b>

### Expenditure of Latvia in 1913.

	<i>Gold Francs</i>
Ministry of the Interior.....	9,748,485
Ministry of Justice.....	4,988,681
Ministry of Finance.....	22,668,864
The Holy Synod.....	1,868,981
Ministry of the Imperial Court.....	80,446
Ministry of Public Instruction.....	17,751,451
Ministry of Railways & Communications.....	54,917,676
Ministry of Commerce and Industry.....	5,352,079
Ministry of Agriculture.....	3,896,958
State Treasury.....	76,848
Ministry of War.....	19,988,589
Ministry of Navy.....	9,862,959
Control of State Accounts.....	763,927
Administration of State Credit.....	285,217
<b>Total of Ordinary Expenditure.....</b>	<b>141,700,661</b>
<b>Extraordinary Expenditure (including the diplomatic service) ..</b>	<b>3,104,665</b>
<b>Grand Total.....</b>	<b>144,805,326</b>

From this table we see that the amount of revenue which Russia every year exacted from Latvia (Kurland, Livonia, Latgale) alone was 90.3 million francs, or about 18 million gold dollars.

Still more interesting is the following compilation of the budgets of the separate provinces:

*Provinces with Surplus**Provinces with Deficit*

## Over 25 million gold roubles

Moscow.....	61.4	St. Petersburg.....	296.1
Kiev.....	46.6	Amur, Sakhalin.....	56.5
Kherson.....	46.2	Irkutsk.....	26.5
Petrokov.....	39.6		
Kalish.....	25.6		

## 10—25 million gold roubles

Don.....	24.0	Transcaucasia.....	24.2
Livonia.....	22.9	Vilna.....	21.1
Souvalki.....	19.2	Tomsk.....	20.5
Kuban.....	15.6	Ekaterinoslav.....	20.5
Kurland.....	11.9	Central Asia.....	20.0
Saratov.....	11.7	Perm.....	14.9
Poltava.....	10.5	Transbaikal.....	12.9
		Kaluga.....	11.8
		Crimea.....	10.3

## 1—10 million gold roubles

Kursk.....	9.8	Kharkov.....	9.3
Yaroslav.....	9.6	Minsk.....	9.0
Astrakhan.....	8.4	Stepnaya.....	8.8
Nijni-Novgorod.....	8.2	Samara.....	8.6
Voronezh.....	8.1	Grodno.....	6.5
Orel.....	7.9	Simbirsk.....	5.2
Tambov.....	7.8	Yeniseisk.....	5.2
Tobolsk.....	5.8	Kazan.....	4.7
Vladimir.....	5.6	Olonetz.....	4.2
Bessarabia.....	3.3	Yefim.....	2.1
Archangelsk.....	4.7	Novgorod.....	1.7
Podolsk.....	4.5	Lomzha.....	1.4
Kostroma.....	4.2	Vitebsk.....	1.4
Tver.....	4.1	Vologda.....	1.2
Smolensk.....	3.8	Orenburg.....	1.2
Riazan.....	3.3	Tula.....	1.1
Black Sea.....	3.3		
Chernigov.....	2.9		
Estonia.....	2.8		
Radom.....	2.2		
Stavropol.....	2.1		
Kyev.....	2.1		
Pensa.....	1.9		

## Less than 1 million gold roubles

Vyatka.....	Warsaw.....
Lublin.....	Volhynsk.....
Mogilev.....	Kamtchatka.....
Pskov.....	Kornu.....
	Plotzk.....
	Syedlec.....
	Kholm.....

## LATVIA'S STRUGGLES FOR INDEPENDENCE. THE ORIGINS OF LATVIAN DEFENSE FORCES\*

Released to the press on July 1, 1942.

In times when every nation is mustering its forces for the final struggle against the forces of oppression and against the conquests of the European dictators, it seems that it would be of some interest to many of our friends to hear how the initial struggle for freedom and independence of Latvia was won from 1918 to 1920 against two great powers which also today endanger the independent existence of Latvia. Sometimes also it happens that publications regarding the Baltic questions are too *one-sided* and many real and would-be helpers to the Latvians in their struggle for freedom exaggerate the amount, the extent and significance of their help. Sometimes it sounds as if only *foreign* forces had helped the Latvians to wrest their freedom from the jealously-clasped hands of the former Russian Empire, holding the Latvians in the grip of subjugation. Even the open enemies of Latvian independence—the Russians,—red and white imperialists, and the Germans (sic!) pretend—each certainly in their own manner—that only they and nobody else “helped” Latvia to become free and to obtain her high level of material and cultural well-being. The Poles, Estonians, Lithuanians, French and English, all of them really were our friends, and helped in many ways. The Lithuanians helped us in the early days of independence with a small loan, the Estonians helped to organize two Latvian regiments in northern Latvia; later on they helped in their own interest to defeat the “Landeswehr” at Cesis; the Poles, in order to secure their frontiers, helped to reconquer Daugavpils, and to clear out Latgale of the Bolsheviks. The French helped with supplies for our troops in Siberia, and with artillery from their ships, when the Germans attacked Riga in November, 1919. The British sent us supplies and their warships also helped to drive the Germans back. America helped us with supplies and with the most valuable moral support.

As a matter of fact, however, the real burden of the struggles on Latvian territory in the years of 1914-1920 as well as from the year 1939 to date, were, and will be, borne by the Latvian nation. It is true that the British Government, War Supply institutions, the British Fleet, the French Fleet and war and expeditionary forces in Siberia helped the young Latvian Army, and that without their help it would have been very doubtful whether Latvia could have attained what she actually did. In the same way we Latvians appreciate very much the help the gallant Polish Army extended to us in 1920 in the final struggle we had to carry out against the Bolsheviks. Then, our allies and brothers of fate—the Estonians—as early as in spring of 1919 helped us to organize *two* regiments on Latvian and Estonian

---

\* Compiled by L. Ekis, Lieutenant of the Latvian Army Reserve.

territory, and on one occasion they helped us to liquidate the force of the local Germans who were endangering the whole independence movement of Latvia, and certainly also that of Estonia. But again nobody can say that the Estonians or Poles liberated Latvia. This task was performed in the past and can be performed in the future only by the Latvians themselves. The structure of the liberty of a nation requires that living human beings be built into it. Human blood is required as cement to hold together this precious building of Freedom and Independence! Even if temporarily the leaders of a nation try to avoid a struggle of honor, things go wrong, as we have witnessed on many occasions in recent years.

### Latvian Defense During the First World War. (1914—1918.)

At the time when the first shots were fired in Southeastern Europe in July, 1914, and when later on the Russian mobilization of all armed forces was ordered and the first World War started its first bloody steps, the *Latvian people*, who were under Russian rule at that time, had 182,000 of its members in the Imperial Russian army\*. The *Baltic Provinces*—the name under which the territories of Latvia and Estonia were known before their liberation from Russian and German domination, were also the first ones to be attacked by the invading German forces. Liepaja (Libau), the most southernly port and one of the biggest Latvian towns, was bombarded by the Germans as early as August 2, 1914, i.e., the second day of the war. At the beginning of 1915 Latvian territory was already directly menaced by the advancing German forces; Liepaja was taken on May 7, 1915, and the front was along the Venta River during the first part of the summer of 1915. Later on the Germans succeeded in making a break through the Russian lines, and on July 17, 1915, the battle line was already at Vec-Auce. On July 18 Dobeles was taken and the German forces were rapidly approaching Jelgava and Riga. Jelgava was taken on August 1, 1915.

*For the first time, at the defense of Jelgava, a unit composed solely of Latvians took part in the battle. This unit distinguished itself and achieved far greater success than the Russians did.\*\**

### The Latvian Rifle Regiments and the Russian Revolution.

The Latvian deputies in the Russian Duma (Parliament), J. Goldmanis and J. Zālīte, asked the Russian Government for permission to form Latvian military units and to concentrate all Latvian soldiers for the defense of their native land on the front along the river Daugava and around Riga. It was evident that the Latvians were opposed to the German invading forces and it was clear from the historical past that the Latvian people would never submit itself to a German rule. There were many causes and rea-

\* Dr. M. Valters, *Le Peuple Letton*, Marcel Hayez, Bruxelles, 1926, Page 258.

\*\* M. Skujenieks, *Latvija, Zeme un Iedzīvotāji*, 1927, Page 736.

sons for this, but chiefly because the German nobility in the Baltic countries had pursued a policy of oppression and of arrogance towards the Latvians for several centuries. Everybody understood that a conquest of the Baltic countries by Germany also meant the end of the Latvians as a people. This was the fate of another branch of the Baltic peoples and close relatives of the Latvians—the ancient Prussians (old inhabitants of East Prussia)—who lost their nationality, language and culture after they were conquered by the Germans in the XV-XVI centuries.

After long consultations in Petrograd and under stress of circumstances it was at last announced that the Imperial Russian Government had granted permission to form Latvian forces. Soon afterwards the first Latvian battalions were formed which later increased to several regiments. They were entirely composed of and commanded by Latvians from the Russian Army and from the hundreds of thousands of Latvian refugees. These were the troops which offered the greatest resistance to the Germans and held them up for more than 2 years on their section of the front. But lacking reinforcements in men, guns and munitions, and even being trapped on many occasions by the direct treachery of their Russian superior commanders, they could not succeed in their goal to drive out the Germans.\* Nevertheless, these Latvian Units proved to the whole world that they were better soldiers, more intelligent, much stronger and with better physical and moral qualities than the average Russian soldier was. Even the enemy—the Germans—recognized that. Their Commander-in-Chief, Field-Marshal von Hindenburg, in his reminiscences wrote that on the Russian front near Riga they always encountered the 9 bright stars of the Imperial Russian Army, and these “stars” were the 9 Latvian Rifle Regiments, which stopped the Germans and saved Riga for two years. After the collapse of the Russian Army in 1917 the Latvian regiments never became so demoralized and so scattered as the Russian army. In the early stages of the Russian revolution these Latvian regiments were the most valuable military force in Russia. About four regiments of the *nine* threw in their lot with the Bolsheviks. There are observers who say that it is no exaggeration to admit that the Russian Revolution succeeded and maintained its positions only thanks to the Latvian regiments. Numerous Latvian officers, however, from the very first fought against the Reds\*\* in anti-Bolshevik armies.

It is a tragedy that of these four revolutionized Latvian regiments which joined the Bolsheviks, a part was even used by their Bolshevistic masters to fight against the *National Latvian Army* which was partly formed by their colleagues from the other Latvian regiments and from the youths in Latvia. The Bolsheviks even

\* The Soviet Russian Edition of the Academy of Science of the U.S.S.R. “*Istorič Marksist*” No. 1, 1941, Article by P. Dauge, *Pribaltika v 1917-1940 godah*. There it is said that the Czarist Generals treacherously collaborated with the Germans in order to annihilate the Latvian Units. The Latvian casualties were at times 60% of their total number.

\*\* R. O. G. Urch, *Latvia, Country and People*, London, 1938 (George Allen & Unwin), Pages 87, 88 & 89.

killed the legendary hero of the Latvian Rifle Regiments, Colonel Fr. Briedis, who opposed the follies and outrages committed by the Bolsheviks.

There are several different opinions even among well-informed Latvian patriots about the importance and significance of the Latvian Rifles in the historical developments, and many ask and doubt whether it was a wise thing to form such Latvian military units and in such way to sacrifice thousands and thousands of the best Latvian men. The loss of 35,000 for a nation of some 2.0 millions is a very large sacrifice, and it was done not directly for the benefit of a free and independent Latvia, but for Czarist Russia, the leaders of which, as is revealed by the Bolshevik Academy of Science (see footnote on the preceding page), betrayed the Latvians. Thus these terrible sacrifices were in vain. The Latvian Nation gained only indirect benefit from the sufferings and heroic struggles of the Latvian Rifle Regiments in that later on, during the struggle for the Independence of Latvia, the military experience, and the cadres of officers and organizers were of great value to the young *Latvian National Army*, the foundation of which was laid in November, 1918, just a couple of days after the formal declaration of Independence (November 18, 1918) and after the establishment of the first democratic Latvian Government. There are on the other hand people who exaggerate the importance of "the Latvian Rifles".

Usually they are members of organizations connected with the Veteran organizations of these Latvian Units or even the organizers of these units themselves. They say that the "Strēlnieki" (the Latvian name of the Rifles), and only they, deserve all the merit for an independent Latvia and that only the "Strēlnieki" raised the national consciousness of the Latvians as being a Nation and capable of independent State life. In my humble opinion both these schools of thought are rather extreme and exaggerated. The truth lies, as often is the case, in between.

The Latvian Rifle Regiments really created a national consciousness, a feeling of pride for the deeds of bravery the Latvian Rifles accomplished in defending their Latvian soil and towns. Later on the participation of the Latvian Rifle Regiments in the Russian revolution as sustaining pillars of the Bolshevik cause was definitely a negative role played by them and caused the Latvian Nation many difficulties in explaining and proving that the Latvians are not to be identified as Bolsheviks, that as a matter of fact there are comparatively very few Latvian communists, and that even those have been exterminated "en masse" by the Stalinist purge of 1936-1937. Both the officers and non-commissioned officers of the old Latvian Rifle Regiments were the most valuable cadres of the Latvian Army in war and in peace times. Even now, we hope, those of the Latvians who have escaped the Russian and German "liberations" from 1940-1941 will play an important role in the restoration of independent Latvia to her rights.

The losses of human life suffered by the Latvian Rifles, the most valuable asset, an asset with which the Latvians cannot afford



to be extravagant, were enormous and were felt throughout all the 22 years of the independent life of the Latvian Nation. It would have been better for a small nation not to lose these 35,000 young lives, buried in the Brethren Cemetery of Riga and in many other places in the fields and meadows of Latvia.

**The Foundation of the Latvian National Army.  
(November and December, 1918.)**

The political organization of independent Latvia was in full swing already from the Russian revolution in spring of 1917 and continued through all of 1917 until November 18, 1918, when the first Provisional Latvian Government was appointed by the Latvian State Council.

After the foundation of the Provisional Government, recognized by Great Britain, intensive and even feverish work was begun in order to organize a real force behind the newly constituted Government.

The former deputy to the Russian Duma, *J. Zalits*, was appointed Minister for Defense in the New Latvian Government. He appealed to the students, the officers and the Latvian youths of military age to come to the assistance of the New State and to enroll themselves in the new army. But it was a very difficult task; almost unsurmountable difficulties were laid in the way to the birth of the new Latvian Army by the authorities of occupation. The real administrative power was still in the hands of the German authorities of occupation and these authorities were not friendly towards the Latvian Government. Only on December 7, 1918, they gave formal permission to the Provisional Latvian Government to organize certain defense units.\* At that time the Bolsheviks were advancing on Riga and in Riga itself Bolshevik propaganda and agitation were felt everywhere. Even among the university students there was no unanimity on the question whether to support the Provisional Government of K. Ulmanis or whether to await the arrival of the Bolsheviks and then to see what would happen. It was easier to "wait and see" than to act and therefore the formation of the new units for defense needs—and very urgent needs—was a difficult task and very few offered their services as volunteers. There was no power of compulsion, there was no money and arms other than those which could be obtained or taken from the German occupation authorities. The writer recollects quite clearly those troublesome days in Riga around the middle of December, 1918. There were already in existence some units of a military character, the companies at Cesis, formed by Colonel Apinis of several officers, students and high school pupils in order to protect the property of citizens in and around Cesis when the robberies of the Bolsheviks started. The officers who were at Riga organized several hundreds of their Latvian colleagues into another company, known as the

---

\* *Juris Vigrabs et Hugo Vitols, La Naissance de la Lettonie*, Riga, 1938, Page 27. (Vingt Années, L'Indépendance de Lettonie).

"Officers Company", under the leadership of Colonel O. Kalpaks and Colonel J. Balodis. The Minister of Defense J. Zalīts appealed again several times personally to the University students. His appeals at last were successful. At a meeting at the University the organized students responded to the call of the country with enthusiasm and firm resolution. The principal fraternities (in Latvia called "Students Corporations") adopted a decision compulsory for all members, active and passive, and applicable to all students and alumni of military age as well, that every member of the Latvian fraternities had to enroll as a volunteer in the New Latvian Army.

The famous "Special Students Company" (in Latvian—"Atsevišķā Studentu Rota") was formed of students, of whom some had already had military experience, but the greatest part had none at all. December 20, 1918, is considered to be the foundation day of the Students' Company and later on from this company, consisting of some 300 students as a cadre, the 3rd Jelgavas Regiment and still later the "Courland's Division" (Kurzemes Divīzija) were formed. These three Units: 1. *The First Officers' Company*, 2. *The Cēsu Company* and 3. *The Special Students' Company*, formed during November and December, 1918, in Riga and in Cēsis, and later known as the "*Kalpaka bataljons*", were the first "*National Latvian Military Unit*", the first real force of the Latvian Provisional Government of President K. Ulmanis.

I remember the first military parade and review of the troops on December 26, 1918, before the building of the Ministry of Interior in Riga. A group of British officers watched these young soldiers still clad in varied garments, some in Russian military overcoats, some in private overcoats with a national ribbon on the left arm the students still in their colorful students caps. I remember we marched before our newly-confirmed Prime Minister and Minister of War quite proudly. We wondered what the British officers thought of us and whether they would supply us with the necessary arms and munitions promised to the Government. Then the days of the hardest work and still harder struggles began. First we had to teach our comrades who had no military experience at all. There was a lack of armaments, rifles and munitions. The Germans had enormous stores of arms, ammunitions and supplies in Riga. But they chose to throw their goods into the river Daugava rather than to give the much needed arms to the young Latvian army. By ruse and force the Latvian Units succeeded so far as to procure a rifle and several rounds of munitions for every one. Such arms as machine guns were considered as being too "dangerous" for the Latvians. But machine guns were badly needed. We decided to get them. It was done with a couple of bottles of rum and a talk in German with two German sentries on our Riga bridges. While some of us talked with the Germans, our other colleagues disarmed the German machine gunners and so we had the weapons all the time during our first stages of war. To this very day I do not know what happened to those German sentries from whom we got our first machine guns. The only other machine guns were those we took from the

Russian Bolsheviks, until the first shipload of British armaments, munitions and supplies arrived in Liepaja, on February 9, 1919.

However, before that date the young Latvian army, which was growing daily even in times of retreat, was very poorly equipped. The first "fire baptism" was given to the new Latvian armed forces on January 2, 1919, during the retreat from Riga, when some Bolshevikized "guerrillas" attacked the forces of the Provisional Government. The Opera house in Riga was set on fire and wild shots were fired from dark corners in Riga.

In Jelgava a stop of several days was made and the military and general situations were carefully studied. It was decided that one part of the armed forces would go by train together with the Government to Liepaja, but the bulk would slowly retreat while fighting the much larger and better equipped Bolshevik forces. According to the orders of the Allies, the German forces had to oppose the invading Bolsheviks, but seeing the new *National Latvian State* rising out of war and chaos, the German soldiers ran away and did not care very much who seized the country *after* them. On January 16, 1919, there was a fierce and risky battle with the Bolsheviks at Liel-Auce, then at the river Venta, where the advance of the Bolsheviks was finally stopped altogether. The general advance started on March 3, 1919, from the Venta line, after reinforcements were sent to the front, and led to final victory.

The British arms, rifles and especially machine guns and automatic rifles were of tremendous value. With the aid of these the Bolshevik forces were taken by surprise by a small but very well armed and equipped elite force, composed solely of *Latvian* officers, University students and pupils from the last classes of high schools. Every group of 10 to 20 soldiers (the soldiers were often captains, lieutenants and so on of the Old Latvian Rifle regiments, or from the Russian Imperial Army) had a machine gun and/or several automatic rifles. Later we heard from the prisoners that the Reds were demoralized by the intense and very precise firing the Latvians practiced. They said they were completely defenseless against an army where every soldier seemed to possess a machine gun.

### The War of Independence.

At the beginning the young Latvian Army consisted of *three* units, small in numbers, pretty bad in equipment, but composed of *experts* (officers fighting as simple soldiers), and ardent patriots (the students of the patriotic fraternities). The leader of the (1) Officers' Company was Colonel O. Kalpaks, who later was the first Latvian Commander-in-Chief. The (2) Cēsu Company was led by Colonel Apinis (later General), and as he was too old for active duty in the very strenuous actions and long and quick marches, he was substituted by Captain Purinš (later Colonel); the (3) Students' Company was led by Captain N. Grundmanis. The first two units remained all the time in constant action against the Bolsheviks; the third Unit went, together with the Government, to Liepaja and did all possible at that time to increase the number of fighting men by

arranging partial mobilization in the still unoccupied regions around Liepaja. The necessary weapons and munitions were supplied later by the British, and so after a retreat from the first days of January, 1919, it was decided in the second half of February to launch an offensive against the Reds who were stopped at the river Venta. At the beginning of the offensive, *on March 3, 1919*, all the Latvian forces were at the front. Only a couple of half-trained companies were left at Liepaja for further training and as a guard to the Government who had no easy days with the German occupation authorities and with the newly arrived German Commander-in-Chief, General von der Goltz, who arrived in Liepaja from Germany on February 1, 1919.

At the end of February the Latvian Units had reached the total of 3,600 men. There were plenty of arms for that force. It was arranged with the Landeswehr and with some smaller German Units (Battalion Borch) from the Eiserne Division (Iron Division) to fight together against the Reds, and the offensive started in the early hours of March 3, 1919, and stopped only when the entire territory of Latvia was delivered from Bolshevik occupation. Line after line, locality after locality were taken. Owing to the very high quality and intelligence of the troops the offensive and all actions worked with astonishing precision, like clockwork! However, once, in the heat of battle a major mistake occurred, a very tragic and costly mistake. This happened on March 6, 1919, when the young Latvian Army lost its Commander-in-Chief, Colonel O. Kalpaks. With him several other higher officers lost their lives, including the Commander of the Students' Units, Captain N. Grundmanis. It was Captain Grundmanis who was first designated by Colonel Kalpaks to be next in command after Kalpaks himself was mortally wounded. But in the next minute also Captain Grundmanis fell and *died before Colonel Kalpaks*. Then Captain J. Balodis (later General and Commander-in-Chief) was designated by the dying Colonel Kalpaks to replace him.

All these and other losses were caused in fact by a tragic *oversight* and by the fact that some Bolshevik prisoners gave false information to the fighting forces. It was a fight between the Latvians and a German unit, but unintentionally. Both sides suffered severe losses, but the losses of the Latvians were almost irreparable! However, it took place on the battlefield, where no time is available for mourning. We had to go on or die! We were very sad over the loss of our beloved Commanders, but those who were still alive had to finish the job. Our numbers increased from day to day as we advanced. Now the people in the country had their experiences under the Bolsheviks. They saw also the young Latvian Army, with the *rising Latvian Sun emblem* \* in the badges of the fighters. In every town new volunteers enlisted in our lines. On March 24, 1919, we reached the river Lielupe line and that meant that the greatest part of Kurland (and Zemgale) was liberated from the Reds. We had

---

\* Used also on first Latvian stamps.

lost many of our comrades and friends in the battles, we had still many battles ahead, but when we reached Sloka, Kauguri, Kemerī and the marshes of Olaine, when we saw from the seashore at Kauguri the silhouettes of Riga, we knew we had won the war!

Until May 22, 1919, when the last stage of our offensive against the Reds was launched, we remained stationary along the Lielupe River and in the old world-war positions in the forests and marshes surrounding Riga from the southwest. In the meantime our Government had troubles with the Germans. We felt that at the front, too. Supplies were cut off and we had to procure almost everything ourselves. Owing to the political troubles instigated by the Germans and their "political" General von der Goltz, we lost time and gave the Reds in Riga a chance to fortify themselves once more.

The offensive against Riga on May 22, 1919, was again a *sample* of how things *must be done* in such circumstances. Almost without serious losses for us Riga was taken by much smaller forces than those of the defenders. With Riga taken from the Reds, it was only a question of time until the whole country was liberated. But it was a difficult problem how to free ourselves from the Germans, who until the liberation of Riga were fighting also against the Reds. After the conquest of Riga (May 22, 1919) the Germans (the local German "Landeswehr" and Reich-German "Eiserne Division" under Colonel Bishoff) were showing tendencies hostile to Latvian independence and a definitely hostile attitude towards the *Estonian* and *Latvian* forces formed in Estonia and in the northern parts of Latvia. So the Germans after passing Riga did not turn against the fleeing Bolsheviks, as did the Latvian forces under General (then Colonel) Balodis, but turned their guns against the Estonians and the Latvian regiment with the Estonians. A fierce and bloody battle was fought at Cēsis on the 21st and 22nd of June, 1919. The German Landeswehr (local Baltic Germans) and a part of the Eiserne Division who helped the Landeswehr, were completely beaten by the *united Estonian and Latvian forces*. A great danger to Latvia as well as to Estonian independence was thus averted. A decisive victory had been achieved over an *arch-enemy* (the German Baltic barons) of many centuries, and *by the Latvians and Estonians alone!* It was historically a very important victory, the *military* significance of which for political reasons has very often been exaggerated. It was a clash between local forces and nothing else. The fact that our friends the Estonians took part in this battle is also a reason why we attach too much importance to this episode of our war of freedom in order to underline the contact and unity existing between the Latvians and Estonians.

The Latvian forces had grown from 1,600 early in January, 1919, to 1,200 officers and 20,000 soldiers by July 16, 1919. This fact alone proves that the Landeswehr, numbering 5,000, even with some help from the Reich-German forces, could not hope to overwhelm the Latvian forces again. It is true, the Latvian army still had to fight against the Reds and to get them out of the *third* Latvian province, Latgale, still occupied at that time by the Russian Bolshe-

viks. But the Germans and their military and political leader in the Baltic, General von der Goltz, could not forget so easily the defeat at Cesis. It was evident that the Germans did not obey the Allies and certainly did not keep their promise and signatures by which they were to leave Latvia. Instead, they (the Germans under General von der Goltz) started organizing a new force to oppose and to *annihilate the young Latvia*.

By September, 1919, the Germans were still in Kurland. They were ousted from Riga in the first day of July, 1919. The Landeswehr after the defeat of Cesis were sent to the Eastern Bolshevik front. They were altogether 5,000 strong, with good equipment. In the meantime the Germans quietly prepared themselves for big scale operations, having as their goal to set up in Russia a pro-German government and with the help of such a Russian puppet government to regain the lost war. The Germans acted very carefully, appointing as Commander-in-Chief of their forces a Russian pseudo-Colonel Bermond, but behind the scene von der Goltz always remained as the real "stringpuller". The Latvian Government in Riga watched the developments with ever-growing concern. Complaints of oppression and robberies committed in Kurland by the so-called "Deutsch-Russische West Armee in Baltikum", the official name given to this German force, were pouring in every day. This army was 50,000 men strong, among whom only about 8,000 Russian prisoners of war from Germany were enrolled to give the appearance of a "Russian army". The emblems and badges were *Russian*, but all the bulk of the army was German, *regular* German forces with the best equipment.

No wonder that things looked very dark at the beginning of October, 1919, when this so-called German-Russian West Army started its attack on Riga. The young Latvian army was split in two. One half had to hold the eastern front against the Bolsheviks, and only about 11,500 were at hand to oppose the onslaught of the Russo-Germans at the beginning of their offensive on October 8, 1919.

But on November 11, 1919, the Germans were decisively beaten by the Latvians. It was the help from the French and British war ships and their artillery, which frightened the Germans. Under the cover of the French and British guns the Latvian land forces managed to cross the river Daugava and the would-be-invaders were driven from Riga and completely routed. In a short time Kurland was cleared of all enemy forces. Then a surprise radiogram was received from a German General von Eberhardt, announcing that the so-called Russo-German army had set itself under the protection of Germany and that General von Eberhardt "had taken command of the Russo-German army".\* To leave no doubt that Germany from

---

\* J. Vigrabs and H. Vitols, *Lettonie, Vingt Années d'Indépendance*, Page 36 quotes: "Russische Westarmee" hat sich unter deutschen Schutz gestellt, hohe Oberbefehl uebernommen, ersucht per Radio um Zustimmung zu voelliger Waffenruhe ab Mitternacht 19 zum 20 (November E.) zwecks Einleitung von Waffenstillstandsverhandlungen".

that date took full responsibility for the so-called "Russian" army, the German Foreign Office confirmed General Eberhardt's radiogram on November 23, 1919. The Latvian Government replied in a note sent to the Wilhelmstrasse and registered the well-known facts, showing that against the will of Latvia a state of war had existed and continued to exist between Germany and Latvia.

Long negotiations were conducted with Germany until peace was concluded on July 15, 1920.

The operations on the Soviet-Russian front were also successful. In January, 1920, hard fighting was still going on against the Reds. It happened that our neighbors, the Estonians, had concluded on December 20, 1919, an armistice and on February 2, 1920, signed a peace treaty with Russia, so that the Bolsheviks could now concentrate all their forces against the Latvians. But we were fortunate enough to have the possibility to shift our forces from Kurland to Latgale and to receive the most valuable help from our southern neighbors—the Poles. The Latvian forces were by that time much stronger (an army of over 100,000 men, well trained and experienced in many battles). With the help of the Poles, the Bolshevik war was ended in the spring of 1920. All Latvian lands were free! A task had been accomplished which at the beginning seemed an impossibility. Peace negotiations were opened with the Russians on April 12, 1920, at Moscow, and ended in a Peace treaty signed at Riga on August 11, 1920.

The well-known "London Times" Correspondent in Riga, now in Stockholm, Mr. R. O. G. Urch, in his previously quoted book about Latvia (p. 90) states the following: "Eighteen months between the autumn of 1918 and the spring of 1920 were truly a heroic period. To impartial onlookers the aspirations of the men of Latvia at that time could not seem otherwise than sheer folly. How *these* men could find room for hope, squeezed in as they were between the great nations of Germany and Russia, the front of whose armed forces kept sweeping to and fro over the devastated lands of Latvia, must forever remain a thing to wonder at and admire."

The victorious Latvian Army, mostly composed of peasants and workers, returned home to rebuild their homes and their country. But it was now our Free and Independent Country, bought with heavy sacrifices of blood. About 5,000 Latvians had lost their lives in the recent battles and taking into account those of the Latvian Rifles Regiments, 40,000 young Latvian lives had been sacrificed for the freedom and happiness of the remainder.

This offering of blood and lives cannot and will not be sacrificed in vain, and even now, when Latvia moans again under the yoke of a foreign invader and lives under constant menace of another invader, this blood-offering will bring freedom again to the suffering Latvian Nation.

**Protest of the Latvian National Council\* Against the Brest-Litovsk Peace Treaty and Intended Annexation of Latvia by Prussia.**

Released on  
July 7, 1918.

Possessing an unshakeable faith in the final victory of right and justice, the Latvian people have sacrificed without stint their wealth and their best sons in the struggle against the subjection and oppression of nations by Germany. Nevertheless, in the month of February, the enemy accomplished the occupation of all Latvia. Its young and flourishing economic culture is in ruins and its very intense intellectual life is checked. Its rich and picturesque farms are burned and its bustling cities are plunged in a profound silence. About 70 per cent of the inhabitants of Latvia have voluntarily left their hearths or have been forced to do so and have since then been wandering the roads of immense Russia. . . .

The Peace of Brest inflicted the most terrible blow on ruined Latvia. Kurland and the city of Riga with its district are given over to the protectorate of Germany; the rest of Latvian Livonia, namely, the districts of Wenden, of Wolmar, and of Walk, are subjected to German occupation until peace and order shall have been reestablished in agreement with the wishes of the population; the fate of Latgalia, comprising the districts of Rezekne, Dvinsk, and Ludza of the government of Vitebsk, remains undecided.

In this way the territory of Latvia, inhabited by a people united by a particular civilization, by a community of political and national aspirations and by economic interests, is artificially dismembered and partitioned between two States under quite different political conditions. The Treaty of Brest is a crime directed against the national, political, and economic existence of the Lettish people in the future; it is a violation of the principles of democracy, an offense against the right of a people to dispose of itself.

The German occupying power has forged for Latvia heavy chains shackling the economic and intellectual life of the country. . . .

The Latvians now living in Latvia, as likewise those who have just returned or who are still wandering in the plains and cities of Russia, would never desire the annexation of Latvia by Germany, nor the personal union with the King of Prussia. The two countries, Latvia and Prussia, have neither political or national aspirations nor economic or cultural interests in common; they are not even contiguous enough to have sufficient organic ties. For that reason, relying on armed force, the occupying power is trying to subjugate Kurland to German imperialism and militarism; the fate of Posen and Alsace-Lorraine threatens Latvia.

In order to create a juridical and moral basis for these acts of violation of justice within the dismembered portions of Latvia, the military authorities have hastened to form Landesrats composed of the mayors of rural communes and cities and of the representatives of the great landlords of German origin. The resolutions passed at the sessions of these Landesrats give an absolutely false

---

\* *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1918, Russia, 2:833—835.*



idea of the political tendencies and will of the Latvian people. The Landesrats are usurping the right of the people to political self-determination, masking the final annexation of Latvia to Prussia. Thus on March 8, 1918, the Landesrat of Kurland passed a resolution setting up the province of Kurland as a duchy and offering the crown to the Hohenzollern dynasty; on April 12, 1918, the "United Landesrat", composed of representatives of the municipality of Riga, of Livonia, of Oesel Island, and of Estonia, decided to set up the Baltic provinces as a monarchy joined with Prussia by a personal union through its king, and to offer the crown of the new monarchy to the German Emperor. The German government has just given the order to conclude military and economic conventions between the Duchy of Kurland and Germany.

The Landesrats created by the occupying power have no right whatever to discuss and decide, in the name of the Latvian people, the fate of Latvia. Their members have not been elected, but appointed by the German administration; they are not representatives of the Latvian people, but of the Baltic nobility, carrying out the annexationist aims of the Pan-Germanists. . . .

*In view of the great importance of the coast of the Baltic Sea, the problem of Latvia has become an international problem of world importance.* The Baltic Landesrats created by the occupying power have neither the qualifications nor the competence to solve it. It must be solved by the Latvian people themselves, in accord with the interests of world democracy, at the general peace conference.

The Latvian National Council, uniting all national political parties, central communal institutions, and most important social organizations, excepting the extremist parties . . . on April 4, 1918, submitted a vigorous protest to the German Imperial Chancellor, Count Hertling, and the Zemstvo of Livonia took a similar action with respect to the German Imperial Chancellor and the Commander-in-Chief of the Army of Occupation. The two protests have had no result.

The Latvian National Council, supported by the unanimous national will of an undivided, indivisible Latvia, in this historic moment addresses to the governments and nations of the entire world its energetic protest against the dismemberment of the territory of Latvia and against the falsification of the will of the Latvian people, and it declares categorically and firmly the will of the Latvian people:

1. The Treaty of Brest of March 3, 1918, dismembering the territory of Latvia, is an act of violence against the right of the people to self-determination and must be regarded as null and void.
2. The Latvian people do not desire the annexation of Latvia to Germany nor the personal union of Latvia with Prussia.
3. The decisions of the Landesrats are gross falsifications of the wishes of the population of Latvia.
4. The military and economic conventions which the German Government is about to conclude with the Landesrats of Latvia will not be recognized nor carried out by Latvia and the Latvian nation.
5. The Latvian National Council protests against the violation

of the freedom of the press, of speech and of assembly, of personal liberty and of travel, against the arbitrary replacing of the mayors of communes and cities by the occupying power.

6. It deems an urgent necessity the recognition of the Latvian National Council as the supreme institution of the Latvian State until the war refugees shall have returned to their homes and the political constitution of Latvia shall have been drawn up and put into effect.

7. It demands the creation of an independent and indivisible Latvian State under international guarantee.

---

### LATVIA GRANTED DE FACTO RECOGNITION BY GREAT BRITAIN ON NOVEMBER 11, 1918.

On the day of the armistice *Lord Balfour* accorded to Latvia the first de facto recognition given. It sounds as follows:

"His Majesty's Government have viewed with the deepest sympathy the aspirations of the Latvian people and its desire for liberation from the German yoke. They are glad to reaffirm their readiness to grant provisional recognition to the Latvian National Council as a de facto independent body until such time as the Peace Conference lays the foundations of a new era of freedom and happiness for your people. In the meantime His Majesty's Government will be glad to receive you as the informal diplomatic representative of the Latvian Provisional Government."

This note was addressed to *Z. A. Meierovics*, London Representative of the Latvian National Council.\*

---

### SOVIET-RUSSIA RENOUNCES "FOREVER" SOVEREIGN RIGHTS OVER THE LATVIAN PEOPLE.

**Treaty of Peace Between Latvia and Sov.-Russia, Done at Moscow,  
Completed and Signed at Riga, August 11, 1920.\*\***

#### Article 2.

"By virtue of the principle proclaimed by the Federal Socialist Republic of the Russian Soviets, which established the right of self-determination for all nations, even to the point of total separation from the States with which they have been incorporated, and in view of the desire expressed by the Latvian people to possess an independent national existence, Russia unreservedly recognizes the independence, self-subsistency and sovereignty of the Latvian State and voluntarily and forever renounces all sovereign rights over the Latvian people and territory which formerly belonged to Russia

---

\* *Malbone W. Graham, The Diplomatic Recognition of the Baltic States. Part III: Latvia.* University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1941, page 406.

\*\* League of Nations *Treaty Series*. Volume II, No. 3, page 213.

under the then existing constitutional law as well as under international treaties which in the sense here indicated, shall in the future cease to be valid. The previous status of subjection of Latvia to Russia shall not entail any obligation towards Russia on the part of the Latvian people or territory."

---

## POLITICAL TREATIES BETWEEN THE BALTIC STATES.

### Treaty of Defensive Alliance Between Estonia and Latvia, Signed at Tallin November 1, 1923. Ratified on February 21, 1924.\*

The *Republic of Estonia* and the *Republic of Latvia*, being firmly resolved to maintain the national sovereignty and independence which they have gained at the cost of heavy sacrifices, and to preserve their territorial integrity, have decided to conclude a treaty of defensive alliance.

For this purpose they have appointed as their plenipotentiaries:

*Estonia*: M. Fr. Akel, Minister for Foreign Affairs;

*Latvia*: M. Z. A. Meierovics, Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs.

Who, having communicated their full powers, found in good and due form, have agreed upon the following provisions:

Article 1. The High Contracting Parties undertake to follow a wholly pacific policy, directed towards maintaining and strengthening the bonds of friendship and developing their economic relations with all nations, more respectfully with the Baltic States and neighboring countries.

Article 2. The two Governments undertake to co-ordinate their efforts for peace by consulting each other on such questions of foreign policy as are important to both, and by affording each other political and diplomatic assistance in their international relations.

Article 3. The High Contracting Parties undertake to afford each other assistance should either of them suffer an unprovoked attack on its present frontiers.

Accordingly, should one of the High Contracting Parties suffer an unprovoked attack, the other shall consider itself in a state of war and shall furnish armed assistance.

Article 4. The competent technical authorities of the Estonian Republic and of the Latvian Republic shall determine by common agreement the manner in which the two countries will assist each other, and shall establish the necessary provisions for the execution of Article 3 of the present Treaty.

Article 5. Should the High Contracting Parties, notwithstanding their efforts for peace, find themselves in a state of defensive war, as defined in Article 3, they undertake that neither will separately negotiate or conclude an armistice or peace.

Article 6. All disputed questions which may arise between the High Contracting Parties, and which cannot be settled by diplomatic

---

\* League of Nations Treaty Series.

means, shall be laid before the Court of International Justice or submitted to international arbitration.

Article 7. Neither of the High Contracting Parties shall conclude an alliance with a third power without the consent of the other Party. Each undertakes to communicate to the other forthwith the text of any treaties which it may have concluded with any other State or States.

Article 8. The present Treaty shall remain in force for ten years from the date of the exchange of ratifications, thereafter either of the two Contracting Parties may denounce it on giving one year's notice to the other Party.

Article 9. The present Treaty shall be communicated to the League of Nations for registration and publication.

Article 10. The present Treaty shall be ratified, and the instruments of ratification shall be exchanged at Riga as early as possible.

In faith whereof the plenipotentiaries have signed the present Treaty and have thereto affixed their seals.

Done in duplicate at Tallin on November 1st, one thousand nine hundred and twenty-three.

(Signed) *Fr. Akel*

(Signed) *Z. A. Meierovics*

## TREATY OF GOOD UNDERSTANDING AND CO-OPERATION BETWEEN ESTONIA, LATVIA AND LITHUANIA.

Signed at Geneva, September 12, 1934. Ratified on  
November 10, 1934.\*

*The President of the Republic of Lithuania, the President of the Republic of Estonia and the President of the Republic of Latvia.*

Having decided to develop co-operation between the three countries and to promote closer understanding between the Baltic States,

Being firmly determined to play their part in maintaining and guaranteeing peace and to co-ordinate their foreign policy in the spirit of the principles of the Covenant of the League of Nations,

Have resolved to conclude a Treaty and have appointed as their Plenipotentiaries for that purpose:

*The President of the Republic of Lithuania:*

His Excellency Monsieur *Stasys Lozoraitis*.

Minister for Foreign Affairs;

*The President of the Republic of Estonia:*

His Excellency Monsieur *Julius Seljamaa*,

Minister for Foreign Affairs;

*The President of the Republic of Latvia:*

Monsieur *Vilhelms Munters*

Secretary-General of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs;

Who, having communicated their full powers, found in good and due form, have agreed as follows:

\* League of Nations Treaty Series. Vol. 154, page 93 and foll.

Article 1. In order to co-ordinate their efforts in the cause of peace, the three Governments undertake to confer together on questions of foreign policy which are of common concern and to afford one another mutual political and diplomatic assistance in their international relations.

Article 2. For the purpose set forth in Article 1, the High Contracting Parties hereby decide to institute periodical conferences of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the three countries, to take place at regular intervals, at least twice a year, in the territories of each of the three States in turn. At the request of one of the High Contracting Parties and by joint agreement, extraordinary conferences may be held in the territory of one of the three States or elsewhere.

Each Conference shall be presided over by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the State in whose territory it takes place; if, however, a Conference meets outside the territory of the three States, its President shall be the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the country in whose territory the previous Conference was held.

The President in office shall be responsible for the execution of the decisions taken by the Conference over which he has presided, and, when necessary, shall be instructed to provide for the application of such decisions in the field of international relations.

The periodical Conferences of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Estonia and Latvia provided for in Articles 1 and 2 of the Treaty between Latvia and Estonia for the organization of the Alliance, signed at Riga on February 17, 1934,\* shall be replaced by the above-mentioned Conferences for the duration of the present Treaty.

Article 3. The High Contracting Parties recognize the existence of the specific problems which might make a concerted attitude with regard to them difficult. They agree that such problems constitute an exception to the undertakings laid down in Article 1 of the present Treaty.

Article 4. The High Contracting Parties shall endeavor to settle amicably and in a spirit of justice and equity any questions in respect of which their interests may clash and also to do so in the shortest possible time. They agree to negotiate with each other such agreements as may appear suitable for attaining this end.

Article 5. The three Governments shall give instructions to their diplomatic and consular representatives abroad and to their delegates to international conferences to establish appropriate contact.

Article 6. The High Contracting Parties undertake to communicate to one another forthwith the text of the treaties concluded between one of them and one or more other States.

Article 7. The present Treaty is open for accession by other States, such accession to take place only if all the High Contracting Parties consent thereto.

Article 8. The present Treaty shall be ratified; it shall come

---

\* League of Nations *Treaty Series*. Vol. 150, page 103.

into force upon the deposit of ratifications which shall take place at Riga. The Government of Latvia shall transmit to each of the two other High Contracting Parties a certified true copy of the proces-verbal of the deposit of ratifications.

Article 9. The present Treaty shall be in force for ten years. Should the Treaty not be denounced by one of the High Contracting Parties one year before the expiry of that period, it shall be extended by tacit consent and shall cease to have effect one year after its denunciation by one of the High Contracting Parties.

In faith whereof the above-mentioned Plenipotentiaries have signed the present Treaty and have affixed their seals thereto.

Done at Geneva, in triplicate, this 12th day of September, 1934.

(Signed)

*St. Lozoraitis*  
*J. Seljamaa*  
*V. Munters*

#### DECLARATION

Upon signing the Treaty of this day's date, the Plenipotentiaries of Lithuania, Estonia and Latvia hereby declare that their respective Governments will foster the growth and general diffusion in their respective countries of the spirit of mutual understanding and friendship among the three nations and they bind themselves to take or to promote all suitable measures and efforts to that end.

Done at Geneva, in triplicate, this 12th day of September, 1934.

(Signed)

*St. Lozoraitis*  
*J. Seljamaa*  
*V. Munters*

**TEXT OF THE CONSTITUTION OF THE LATVIAN REPUBLIC.**

**Adopted by the Latvian Constituent Assembly Plenary Session of  
February 15, 1922.**

(TRANSLATION FROM COLLECTION OF LAWS AND  
GOVERNMENT ORDERS)

**The people of Latvia, through their freely-elected Constituent  
Assembly, have adopted the following Constitution:**

**PART 1.***General Provisions.*

1. Latvia is an independent democratic republic.
2. The sovereign power of the Latvian State is vested in the people of Latvia.
3. The territory of the Latvian State is composed of Vidzeme (Livonia), Latgale, Kurzeme (Courland), and Zemgale, within borders fixed by international treaties.
4. The Latvian national flag is crimson with a white stripe.

**PART 2.***The Legislative Saeima (Congress).*

5. The Saeima shall consist of one hundred representatives of the people.
6. The Saeima shall be elected by general, equal, direct, secret, and proportional suffrage.
7. Latvia being divided into special election districts, the number of members of the Saeima to be elected in each district, shall be fixed in proportion to the number of voters in each district.
8. All Latvian citizens with full rights, of either sex, who on the first election day shall have attained the age of twenty-one years, are entitled to suffrage.
9. Any Latvian citizen with full rights, who on the first election day shall have attained the age of twenty-one years, may be elected to the Saeima.
10. The Saeima shall be elected for a period of three years.
11. Elections for the Saeima shall take place on the first Sunday in October, and the previous Saturday.
12. The newly-elected Saeima shall meet for the first session on the first Tuesday in November, on which day the term of office of the previous Saeima shall expire.
13. If the Saeima shall be dissolved and new elections shall take place at another time of the year, the new Saeima shall meet not later than one month after the election, and the term of office of that Saeima shall terminate after two years on the first Tuesday in November, simultaneously with the meeting of the newly-elected Saeima.
14. The voters cannot recall individual members of the Saeima.

15. The Saeima shall hold its sessions in Riga, and only in consequence of extraordinary circumstances may it meet at another place.
16. The Saeima shall elect a Presidium, which shall consist of a President, two Vice-Presidents and a Secretary. The Presidium of the Saeima shall function uninterruptedly throughout the whole term of office of the Saeima.
17. The first session of the newly-elected Saeima shall be opened by the President of the former Saeima or, on the instruction of the Presidium, by another member of the Presidium.
18. The Saeima itself shall judge the qualifications of its members.
19. The Presidium of the Saeima shall convene the regular sessions and call special or extraordinary sessions.
20. The Presidium of the Saeima shall be obliged to call special or extraordinary sessions if requested to do so by the President of State, the Prime Minister, or by not less than one-third of the members of the Saeima.
21. In respect to internal work the Saeima shall determine the rules of its proceedings.
22. The sessions of the Saeima shall be public, at the request of ten members, the President of State, the Prime Minister, or a Minister, the Saeima may hold secret sessions if not less than two-thirds of the members present are in favor of such a motion.
23. Sessions of the Saeima may be held if they are attended by at least one-half of the members of the Saeima.
24. With the exception of cases expressly mentioned in the Constitution the Saeima shall make its decisions by the vote of an absolute majority of the members present.
25. The Saeima shall appoint commissions, fixing the number of their members and their scope of activity. The commissions are entitled to receive all necessary information from the competent Ministers and also to invite Ministers and responsible workers of Government institutions to give explanations to the commissions. The commissions may function also between sessions.
26. The Saeima in certain cases shall appoint special parliamentary commissions of investigation, if this is requested by not less than one-third of the members of the Saeima.
27. The Saeima shall have the right to interrogate the Prime Minister, or the Ministers, to which interrogations the said Prime Minister, or the Ministers, shall be bound to reply personally or through an authorized responsible person in an official position. At the request of the Saeima or its commissions, the Prime Minister or the Ministers shall be compelled to submit any documents which may be required.
28. For voting one way or another, as well as for any utterances made in their capacity as members of the Saeima, members cannot be prosecuted in court, nor may any administrative disciplinary punishment be imposed upon them. Members of the Saeima may be prosecuted in court only (1) for slander, knowing it to be slander, (2) for defamation regarding private family



life, even if the respective utterances are made in an official capacity.

29. A member of the Saeima cannot be arrested; his dwelling cannot be searched, nor his personal freedom restricted in any other way, unless the Saeima consents to such measures. A member of the Saeima may be arrested only if caught in the act of committing a crime. Within twenty-four hours of the arrest or detention of a member of the Saeima, the Presidium of the Saeima must be notified, and the Presidium shall place before the next session of the Saeima the question whether the arrested member is to be detained in custody or liberated. During the recess of the Saeima, the Presidium of the Saeima shall have the power to decide whether or not a member is to be held in custody.
30. No legal or administrative proceedings can be taken against a member of the Saeima for any criminal action, without consent of the Saeima.
31. A member of the Saeima shall be entitled to refuse to give evidence: (1) concerning persons who have given him, as representative of the people, certain information, or confided to him certain facts; (2) regarding persons to whom he, in his capacity as representative of the people, entrusted facts or information; (3) concerning such facts and information.
32. A member of the Saeima can neither in his own name, nor in the name of other persons, assume Government contracts and concessions. The provisions of this article apply also to Ministers, who are not members of the Saeima.
33. Members of the Saeima draw a salary from the Government.
34. Nobody shall be liable to legal prosecution for giving information concerning the open sessions of the Saeima and commissions, provided such information is in keeping with the truth. Account of closed sessions of the Saeima or the commissions may be given only by permission of the Presidium of the Saeima or the respective commissions.

### PART 3.

#### *The President of State.*

35. The President of State shall be elected by the Saeima for a term of three years.
36. The President of State shall be elected by secret ballot and must not receive less than fifty-one votes.
37. No person can be elected to the office of President of State, who has not attained the age of forty years.
38. The office of President of State cannot be amalgamated with any other office. If a member of the Saeima is elected President of State, he must resign his membership in the Saeima.
39. One person cannot continuously occupy the office of President of State for more than six years.
40. At the session following the election of the President of State, he shall enter upon his duties by giving the following solemn

promise: "I swear that all my endeavors shall be given for the good of the people of Latvia. I shall do everything in my power to further the welfare of the Latvian State and the prosperity of its inhabitants. I shall hold sacred the Latvian Constitution and the laws of the State, I shall be just to all, and I shall fulfill my duties to the best of my ability."

41. The President of State shall represent the State in international relations. He shall appoint Latvian diplomatic representatives and receive such representatives of other States. He shall execute the decisions of the Saeima in regard to the ratification of international treaties.
42. The President of State shall be the supreme leader of the armed forces of the State. In time of war he shall appoint the Commander-in-chief.
43. The President of State shall declare war in execution of the Decision of the Saeima.
44. The President of State shall have the right to take all necessary steps, from a military point of view, in the event that another state shall declare war upon Latvia, or an enemy shall invade Latvian territory. Simultaneously the President of State shall immediately convene the Saeima, which shall decide concerning the declaration of war and the beginning of hostilities.
45. The President of State shall have the right to pardon persons who have been sentenced by the court, but such right of pardon shall not apply to cases for which another mode of pardoning is established by law. Amnesty is a prerogative of the Saeima.
46. The President of State shall have the right to convene and to conduct extraordinary Cabinet sessions, appointing the order of the day for them.
47. The President of State shall have the right of legislative initiative.
48. The President of State shall have the right of initiative in the dissolution of the Saeima. After that a plebiscite shall take place. If more than one-half of the votes shall be registered in favor of dissolution, the Saeima shall be considered dissolved and new elections shall be held, to take place not later than two months after the Saeima has been dissolved.
49. If the Saeima shall be dissolved, the authority of the members of the Saeima shall remain in force until the new Saeima shall convene but the old Saeima can meet only if convoked by the President of State. The President of State shall appoint the order of the day for such sessions of the Saeima.
50. If more than one-half of the votes registered at the plebiscite shall be against a dissolution of the Saeima, then the President of State shall be considered as dismissed from his office, and the Saeima shall elect a new President of State for the remainder of the dismissed President's term of office.
51. At the request of not less than one-half of the total number of members of the Saeima, the Saeima may in a secret session, following a decision of not less than two-thirds of the total

number of members, dismiss the President of State. After such action, the Saeima must without delay elect a new President of State.

52. In case the President of State shall resign his office, in the event of his death, or if he shall be dismissed prior to the expiration of his term of office, his duties shall be taken over by the President of the Saeima, pending the election of a new President of State by the Saeima. Likewise shall the President of the Saeima take the place of the President of State if the latter is absent from the territory of the State, or if he is otherwise prevented from attending to his duties.
53. The President of State shall bear no political responsibility for his actions. All acts emanating from the President of State must be countersigned by the Prime Minister or the competent Minister, who thereby assumes all responsibility for such acts, with the exception of contingencies mentioned in Articles forty-six and forty-eight.
54. The President of State can be subjected to criminal prosecution if this is consented to by the Saeima by a vote of two-thirds of its members.

#### PART 4.

##### *The Cabinet of Ministers.*

55. The Cabinet of Ministers shall consist of the Prime Minister and the Ministers invited by him to take office.
56. The Cabinet of Ministers is to be formed by such persons as may be designated by the President of State.
57. The number of Ministers and the scope of their work, as well as the mutual relations between State institutions, are to be established by law.
58. To the Cabinet of Ministers are subordinated the institution of State administration.
59. The Prime Minister and the Ministers require in the carrying out of their duties the confidence of the Saeima, and for their actions they are responsible to the Saeima. If the Saeima shall pass a vote of non-confidence in the Prime Minister, the entire Cabinet must resign. If a vote of non-confidence shall be passed against any one Minister, such Minister shall be required to resign, and the Prime Minister shall invite another person to take his place.
60. The sessions of the Cabinet of Ministers shall be conducted by the Prime Minister, and during his absence by a Minister authorized by him.
61. The Cabinet of Ministers shall discuss all bills proposed by the separate Ministries, as well as all questions relating to more than one Ministry, and also political questions submitted by separate members of the Cabinet.
62. If the State shall be threatened by an outside enemy, or within the State, or a part of it, disturbances shall break out or threaten to break out, the Cabinet of Ministers shall have the right to

promulgate a "state of exceptional law", notifying the Presidium of the Saeima of such action within twenty-four hours, the latter to be required to submit such decision of the Cabinet of Ministers to the Saeima without delay.

63. Ministers, even if they are not members of the Saeima, and responsible State officials authorized by a Minister, shall have the right to participate in the sessions of the Saeima and its commissions and to submit additions and amendments to legislative bills.

## PART 5.

### *Legislation.*

64. The right of legislation is vested in the Saeima, and also in the people within the scope established by this Constitution.
65. Legislative bills may be placed before the Saeima by the President of State, the Cabinet of Ministers, the Commissions of the Saeima, a group of not less than five members of the Saeima as well as, under such circumstances and in the mode provided by this Constitution, by one-tenth of the voters.
66. Every year prior to the commencement of the fiscal year, the Saeima shall consider the State revenue and expenditure estimates, plans for which are to be submitted by the Cabinet of Ministers.

If the Saeima shall adopt a budget which shall contain unforeseen expenditures, then the Saeima must also indicate the sources from which such expenditures are to be covered.

After the expiration of the fiscal year the Cabinet of Ministers must submit to the Saeima for confirmation the accounts concerning the execution of the budget.

67. In the time of peace the Saeima shall fix the strength of the armed forces of the State.
68. All international treaties bearing upon questions which are to be regulated by legislation require the sanction of the Saeima.
69. The President of State shall publish the laws passed by the Saeima not before the seventh day after a law has been passed, and not later than on the twenty-first day after it has been passed. The law shall come into force a fortnight after its publication, unless another time is provided in the law.
70. The President of State shall publish the laws passed in the following way: "The Saeima (or the people) passed, and the President of State publishes, the following: (follows the text of the law)."
71. Within seven days after a law has been passed by the Saeima the President of State may apply to the President of the Saeima for a revision of such law, stating his reasons for such a request in writing. If the Saeima refrains from altering the law, the President of State shall raise no further objections.
72. The President of State shall have the right to delay publication of a law for two months. He shall be required to suspend publication of a law, if requested to do so by not less than one-third

of the members of the Saeima. The President of State or one-third of the members of the Saeima, shall be entitled to wield this right during the seven days following the passage of the law by the Saeima. A law thus suspended must be submitted to a plebiscite, if this is requested by one-tenth of the total number of voters. If no such demand is made within the above-mentioned period of two months, the law must be published. A plebiscite shall not take place if such a law is once more put to a vote in the Saeima and if the Saeima shall pass it by vote of not less than three-fourths of its members.

73. The following cannot be submitted to a plebiscite: the budget and law concerning loans, taxes, customs duties, railway tariffs, military service, declaration and commencement of war, conclusion of peace, proclamation and termination of the state of "exceptional law", mobilization and demobilization, as well as treaties entered into with foreign governments.
74. A law passed by the Saeima and suspended in accordance with Article seventy-one, can be cancelled by a plebiscite if not less than one-half of all voters have taken part in such a plebiscite.
75. If by a vote of not less than two-thirds of its members the Saeima shall pronounce the urgency of a law, then the President of State shall not be entitled to ask for a revision of such law nor may a plebiscite be taken on such law, and it is to be promulgated not later than three days after the adopted law has been passed on to the President.
76. The Constitution may be amended by the Saeima in sessions which are attended by at least two-thirds of its members. Amendments shall be passed after three readings, and with not less than two-thirds of the members of the Saeima present.
77. If the Saeima shall amend Articles one, two, three or six of the Constitution, then such amendments, in order to become valid, must be put to the plebiscite.
78. Not less than one-tenth of the number of voters shall have the right to submit to the President of State a fully compiled bill for the amendment of the Constitution, or a legislative bill, which shall be laid before the Saeima by the President. If the Saeima does not pass such bill without alteration of its contents, the bill shall be put to the plebiscite.
79. Amendments to the Constitution put to a plebiscite shall be considered as accepted if at least one-half of all votes shall be cast in their favor.
80. All Latvian citizens who have the right of suffrage in the Saeima elections may participate in the plebiscite.
81. In the intervals between the sessions of the Saeima the Cabinet of Ministers shall have the right, if the contingency arises to issue regulations which shall have the force of law. Such regulations, however, may not have for their object alteration of the Saeima Election Law, the law organizing administration of justice and regulating legal procedure, the budget and budget rights, nor may they alter any laws passed by the Saeima then

in office; further, such regulations shall have no bearing upon amnesty, emission of currency by the State Treasury, State taxation, custom affairs, railway tariffs, and loans, and they shall become invalid if they are not laid before the Saeima not later than three days after the opening of the next session of the Saeima.

#### PART 6.

##### *Courts of Law.*

82. In the eyes of the law and the eyes of the court all citizens shall be equal.
83. Judges shall be independent and subordinated solely to the law.
84. Judges shall be confirmed in their capacity by the Saeima and they cannot be dismissed. Judges may be removed from office against their will only on the basis of a verdict of court. The age limit at which judges shall have to resign may be fixed by law.
85. Courts of law, with juries, on the basis of a special law, shall exist in Latvia.
86. Justice may be administered only by organs in which such rights are vested by law, and only in a manner provided by the law. Courts martial shall function on the basis of a special law.

#### PART 7.

##### *State Control.*

87. The State Control Department shall be an independent board.
88. State Comptrollers shall be appointed to and confirmed in their offices in a manner identical to that of judges, but only for a designated period, during which they may be removed from office only on the basis of a verdict of court. The organization and duty of the State Control Department shall be fixed by a special law.

(Signed) J. CHAKSTE,  
*President of the Constituent Assembly.*

(Signed) R. IVANOV,  
*Secretary to the Constituent Assembly.*

## RECOGNITION OF LATVIA BY THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

### Text of Statement.

After having received a careful and searching report, regarding conditions in the newly created Republic, from the United States representative in the Baltic States, the President of the United States *Warren G. Harding* granted recognition to Latvia on July 28, 1922.

This report was written by *Mr. Evan E. Young*, American High Commissioner and later first American Minister to Latvia, already on April 6, 1922.\*

"These States (Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania)—reports the American High Commissioner—will encounter comparatively little difficulty in maintaining themselves as political entities. . . Each one of these States has made very considerable and very substantial progress in the primary and essential work of the successful administration of their several territories. It is also important to bear in mind the fact that in each one of these countries *the nationals of the government in power make up the great majority of the population*. . . The operation of the administrative machinery has on the whole been attended with a very large measure of success. Taxes have been imposed and collected in a legal and orderly manner. Small, though well trained and disciplined armies have been organized and equipped. Commerce and trade is being carried on with neighboring countries and with the world at large. Law and order is fully maintained. . . The leaders in these States fully realize that the strength of one lies in the strength of all . . . The simple fact is that these nationalities . . . preferred the creation and establishment of what may be termed modern civilized governments."

The recommendation of the American Commissioner was followed by official recognition by the United States in the following announcement made by Secretary of State *Charles E. Hughes*: "The Government of the United States recognized the Governments of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania." The announcement was accompanied by the following Statement:

"The Governments of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania have been recognized either *de jure* or *de facto* by the principal Governments of Europe and have entered into treaty relations with their neighbors.

"In extending to them recognition on its part, the Government of the United States takes cognizance of the actual existence of these Governments during a considerable period of time and of the successful maintenance within their borders of political and economic stability.

"The United States has consistently maintained that the disturbed condition of Russian affairs may not be made the occasion for

---

\* *Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States*, 1922, Vol. II, Pages 870-874, published by U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, 1938.

the alienation of Russian territory, *and this principle is not deemed to be infringed by the recognition at this time of the Governments of Esthonia, Latvia and Lithuania which have been set up and maintained by the indigenous population.*"

It is very important to note that the United States Government did not consider the granted recognition to Latvia an infringement of its aforementioned principles. *"The Governments of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania have been set up and maintained by the indigenous population"*, says the statement. They are not Russians, they are indigenous, autochthonous, native—so there cannot be "alienation of Russian territory."

---



**REPORT OF MR. V. MUNTERS, LATVIAN FOREIGN MINISTER,  
ABOUT THE CONVERSATIONS IN THE KREMLIN PREVIOUS  
TO SIGNING THE MUTUAL ASSISTANCE TREATY.**

October 2, 1939  
In the Kremlin from  
9:30 to 12 p.m.

Participants: Stalin, Molotov, Potemkin, \* Zotov, \*\* Munters, \*\*\*  
Kocins. \*\*\*\*

Molotov: We wanted to talk over with you how to settle our relations. Shall they be approximately as with Estonia? If you view them similarly, we could outline the principles. We need a naval base open all the year.

Stalin: I think that you will not swear at us. Twenty years have passed; we are stronger, and you also are stronger. We want to discuss those same airfields and military defense.

We do not encroach upon either your constitution, organs, ministries, foreign policy, financial policy or economic system. Our demands are based upon the war between Germany, England and France. Incidentally, should we agree there are very good perspectives in commercial-economic matters.

I requested that the political situation be elucidated and also promised to do so on my part. Molotov started with the non-aggression treaty with Germany. There had been a sudden turn on the part of Germany. We received it sympathetically (sochuvstvenno), for it meant turning away from war, at least a general war. We have agreed in all basic questions, and now we not only have no problems for a struggle but not even for friction. Our foundation is secure. We fixed the frontier precisely. Germany is engaged in a war in which we do not participate; however, we are thinking of the future. One State has already paid the price (poplatilas). That was the fault of the English, French and Poles. With Germany we have established relations on a lasting basis, and also in regard to the Baltic States our views do not differ from those of Germany.

But now war is raging, and we have to see to our safety. The States of Austria, Czechoslovakia and Poland have already disappeared; others may also disappear. We think that in relations with you, there is not yet a true guarantee. That is not safe for you (nebezopasno), but we are principally thinking of ourselves. That which was determined in 1920 cannot remain for eternity. Peter the Great saw to it that an outlet to the sea was gained. We are now without an exit, and the situation in which we are now cannot remain. We, therefore, wish to ensure ourselves the use of ports, roads to these ports and their defense. (There was neither haste nor threats. Regarding the Lithuanians it was said that perhaps they will receive Wilno.)

---

\* Vice-Commissar of Foreign Affairs.

\*\* Soviet Minister in Riga.

\*\*\* Latvian Foreign Minister.

\*\*\*\* Latvian Minister in Moscow.

Then I made an expose. I ascertained that now we have to do only with the U.S.S.R. and Germany. Therefore, in view of the fact that they have a non-aggression treaty (Molotov corrected me, treaty of friendship), we do not understand what additional security there could be. Molotov: we cannot permit small States to be used against the U.S.S.R. Neutral Baltic States—that is too insecure (nenadezhno).

I: But the Baltic Sea is administered by Germany and the U.S.S.R., and as long as you are friendly with Germany no one can take advantage of us.

Here Stalin interrupted: England has already demanded from Sweden certain airfields and the admission of some submarines; Sweden may easily be drawn into the war. The war will be very involved, and neutrals will be drawn into it (apelatsiya k neitralnym). Great pressure will be brought to bear upon neutrals.

We returned once again to the political state of affairs. Stalin affirmed that there will always remain a difference between national socialism and communism. What will be done with Poland is not precisely known; to the east of the frontier the settlement is final. In the west there may be a protectorate. Should more be given, the same would also have to be given to Czechoslovakia. I tell you frankly: a division of spheres of interest has already taken place. When I said that we have to observe our peace treaty also with Germany: As far as Germany is concerned we could occupy you. However, we want no abuse (ne zhelaem zlou potrebit). Ribbentropp is a sensible person.

We shall need Liepaja, Ventspils; also your unemployed will have employment. (I interrupted here that we have no unemployment to which Zotov replied that we have 11,000.) The territory having a Russian minority could be taken away from you, but we do not raise that question. Molotov asked in detail about individual minorities, but otherwise made no conclusions. Then Molotov drew out a project. Stalin began to rattle off all kinds of figures: 15 submarines and auxiliary cruisers in bases; 4 airfields.

(In between he mentioned that the Germans had killed Jews in vast numbers and was astonished that there are so many Jews in Daugavpils.)

I said: three things are absolutely unacceptable to us: (1) the mention of the capital even though for a temporary garrison; (2) Pitragi, which interferes with our peaceful fishermen and where we ourselves can place the necessary battery, and (3) 50,000 troops, which is two and one-half times the size of the whole army.

Then began argumentation. My principal argument was that public opinion must receive the impression that that is a friendly step and not an enforced yoke leading to oppression. Kocins and I added various strategic and military arguments. Stalin showed amazing military knowledge and skill with figures. He was astonished that we had such small divisions. He said that 1,500 ton submarines could easily enter through Irbe Straights and bombard Riga with four inch guns. The batteries at the Straights must be

under one command, otherwise they cannot function. I, in particular, opposed his statement that Latvian batteries might fire upon Soviet batteries and vice versa. I said that here was exactly an opportunity to show public opinion our collaboration. Then Stalin incidentally said that in order to lighten our situation Riga could be dropped (mutual comedy with Molotov, who said that that was not well). Then Stalin, pulling out a map, briskly described how submarines must flit back and forth (*shniryat*) under the support of air forces, and left the impression that great activity would take place along the entire coast. Then we again jumped to garrisons, and Stalin mentioned 40,000. They began to calculate our population and that of Estonia. They estimated—4 aviation regiments with 240 aircraft (less than you received from Poland), one or two tank brigades and one infantry brigade—a division would have been better. So 38,000—40,000—if you want, 38,000; if it were less the Estonians would laugh.

Four airfields would be necessary: Liepaja, Ventspils, Irbe Straights and the Lithuanian frontier.

You have nothing to fear. Maintain 100,000. Your rifles were good, and your army is better than the Estonian army. The treaty with Estonia has been criticized: (1) some said treason; (2) others said safety; (3) still others—let us see.

The garrisons are only for the duration of the war—if it ends they will be withdrawn. It is sufficient to throw a hand grenade on an airfield and it is done for. If they will be our airfields they will be feared a little. "The heavens glow from the struggles of the giants."

Then we jumped from one subject to another. After I had presented lengthy arguments regarding Pitrag's, he said: Perhaps an airfield is hardly necessary at Pitrag's. But the batteries operate together with "zenitki" (anti-aircraft guns) and the air force. The base could be 40 kilometer distant. In one voice we asked: in the interior? Yes, why not? Again they emphasized that in the war there will no longer be any neutrals. But if the war ends—we shall withdraw. We need Baltic ports—the Estonian ports are not ice free.

Then again we went down to 30,000 (for my argument was the size of our army), only 5,000 more than Estonia. I said: well, at least the same number as for Estonia. Real Asiatic haggling!

Beck has lost everything (promotal). We have offered help, without garrisons, with better intentions. The reply: *nam vasha pomoshch ne nuzhna i prokrutili usi po polski. Nashe slovo krepkoe—vozmite Mongoliyu* (we do not need your assistance, and rolled up their moustaches in Polish fashion. We keep our word—take, for example, Mongolia). After this treaty everyone will know—here are two masters—Latvians and Russians.

Having accepted nothing, we parted till October 3, at 6 p.m.

October 3, 1939,  
In the Kremlin from  
6 p.m. to 8 p.m.

I read my explanation:

We have attentively studied the project and carefully weighed everything that was discussed between us yesterday.

In this connection I can notify the following:

1. In spite of the fact that the existence of a treaty of non-aggression and friendship between the U.S.S.R. and Germany does not give any reason to speak of any element of danger whatsoever in regard also to our mutual political relations with both great powers in the sphere of interests which enter the Baltic Sea, we admit that in case of a lengthy war new circumstances may arise in the Baltic Sea, and therefore we do not reject the proposed principle of mutual assistance.

2. In view of the fact that the material stipulations of Article III and of the secret protocol are of a purely strategic nature and are based on strategic considerations, they must be given a temporary character to the maximum extent, limiting their application exclusively to the duration of the war.

3. Most essential, however, we consider the principle already analyzed by me yesterday and emphasized several times to the effect that the conclusion of this treaty must not appear in the eyes of the Latvian people to be an imposed heavy yoke in which public opinion might see the restriction of their military and consequently their political independence of the State, and a menace to the free existence and development of the people in future. Under the military measures mentioned by you yesterday, even after decreasing them by excluding the capital of Latvia from the treaty and reducing the total number of garrisons, there cannot be the slightest doubt that the treaty will be interpreted as the creation of something similar to a protectorate—a situation unacceptable to a liberty loving nation, particularly since the strength of the Latvian army under the possibilities opened up by Article II of the project at the present time is sufficient to ensure the safety of Latvia and indirectly of the U.S.S.R.

For this reason I, as the plenipotentiary of the Latvian Government, being aware of its views and of the trend of public opinion, cannot propose to accept the stipulations of the project as a basis for a treaty, even with the "concessions", as you called them yesterday, although in general all concessions here are made on our part.

4. In analyzing the proposed project and taking into consideration the fact that the question of a base in the port of Riga has been dropped, the principal objections are concentrated upon three questions:

a. the demand for bases in two, i.e., in other words in all the ice-free ports of Latvia;

Such a situation cannot be considered as acceptable. A military-naval base introduces a new element in the life and operations of a port, and we foresee that we shall be compelled to effect certain

changes in the existing dispositions, both of a military as well as of a commercial and administrative nature. That would be particularly difficult in the city of Liepaja, living the complicated life of exactly such a military, commercial and administrative center—the largest city after Riga. I therefore propose that in choosing a military-naval base this be restricted to the port of Ventspils.

This will also facilitate dealing with the second difficulty, namely

b. the demand for any kind of a base whatsoever at Pitragi.

First of all, it would disrupt the peaceful life of the fishing population (which is engaged in its industry along the entire coast—in the sea and on the shore) without any need whatsoever; secondly, as far as was clarified yesterday, a battery of coastal artillery and anti-aircraft guns are planned there for its defense. This, as I already mentioned yesterday, we can take upon ourselves, taking into consideration the technical wishes of the Soviet.

Finally, third, I fully maintain all my objections in regard to

c. the number of garrisons, and I cannot go further than the peacetime size of our army, i.e., 20,000. After a general consideration of the situation even this appears to be a heavy burden upon the strategic maneuverability of our army, but in view of the firmness of your demands I am ready to meet you at this point, considering that thereby we shall at least have an argument against the criticism and suspicion of our population, which will inevitably accept the appearance of foreign military forces equal in number to our army as a fact bound with heavy consequences.

In order to soften that impression I consider it indispensable to stipulate in the conditions pertaining to the number of garrisons not only that this measure will continue only for the duration of "the present war in Europe", but also that at the end of the war the garrisons will immediately be recalled.

Molotov: (Stalin writes, draws, walks around, seizes books and newspapers) Our concession of yesterday is final. You now retreat. In removing such important things from its contents we deprive the treaty of its value. You are larger than Estonia but want to give less. Both harbors are not large and large vessels cannot enter there. Pitragi must be placed under one command, any other solution is impractical. You have 60,000 territorials (aizsargi) well, it makes no difference, 40,000. Our military men consider 30,000 to be unacceptable. Your proposals are entirely unacceptable. If the present project is made worthless there can be no security. Weigh the situation (uchest obstanovku).

I opposed this again, and then, as yesterday, the discussion was taken up by Stalin. You start from conditions of peace, but one must start out from worst (these and other expressions are once in a while fondly ruminated in a sweet tone by Potemkin). I have only one correction: article three to read "for the purpose of ensuring the safety of the U.S.S.R. frontiers and to enhance its own independence." I accept, omitting the word "frontiers."

You do not trust us, and we don't quite trust you either. You

believe that we wish to seize (zakhvat) you. We could do that now, but we do not do it. Riga is the center of anti-Soviet propaganda (upon my assurance that we have no distrust and upon my question why we are not trusted). Liepaja will be a smaller base. Moreover, we shall request you to allow goods to pass through there. I inquired whether that was a commercial intention. Yes, in order not to have to bring them through Murmansk. We shall pay your tariffs and a great revival will take place. Liepaja and Ventspils are small matters; they are not Hangö and Tallinn. We do not wish to delay. You had twice as much time as the Estonians. You already see how the Estonian nation values the treaty. That is best proved by Selter's telegram. The Estonians were the first—their position was more difficult. Your army remains untouched, in a couple of days you can arouse an army, we can do nothing quickly in these scattered places. We raised 3½ millions in six days. Our garrisons will be a preventative force (predupreditelnaya sila). If the war will spread the treaty will later have to be supplemented. In Pitragi we shall not disturb your fishermen. The artillery will be in towers—let them fish as much as they like. In Petropavlovsk we also have a base, but we and the Japanese fish there to beat the band. If necessary we can help the fishermen.

I attempted to raise the proposal that they nevertheless be satisfied with Ventspils, and if conditions become more acute the question of Liepaja could be raised. This is rejected. Stalin continues: A German attack is also possible. For six years German fascists and the communists cursed each other. Now an unexpected turn took place; that happens in the course of history. But one cannot rely upon it. We must be prepared in time. Others who were not ready paid the price.

We began to read the texts: amendments were adopted in articles I and V. At article VI, I inquired: why do we have 15 years, when the Estonians have 10? First of all, to advance a step!

Article 1 of the confidential protocol—long arguments about the sentence that at the conclusion of the war the army must be withdrawn. It is clear—bases for the duration of the treaty, garrisons until the end of the war. They do not wish to deal a blow to the Estonians. That was exactly Selter's formula. It will now appear that you trumped them. Neither is a letter admissible—a signed treaty cannot be changed the very next day. You note down everything. Stalin: If I might be permitted to make a lyrical change in the subject (esli posvoleno sdelat liricheskoe otstuplenie)—followed by a long discussion about philology and ethnographics, starting out with the similarity of Latvians and Lithuanians. About Poles and Bulgarians; the militant minority becomes assimilated: the Turks in Bulgaria, Norwegians in Russia, Germans in France.

Then we pass on to my 11 points (see supplement). (The tenth is already decided with the wording of the new article V.) I did not mention the ninth. The airfield places in points one, four and five can be settled only upon the spot. If there will be a difference of opinion, let us begin to negotiate again directly. But it must be

understood that there must be no delay. We do not ask that people be uprooted from their homes (vyselyat). It may be necessary on the coast (pozhalui nado budet u morya). Cannot they be around Jelgava? In general they appeared very thoughtful when they learned about our structure in the country. We do have wider opportunities. They admit that communications are an important problem. Couldn't they be near railway stations? Well, perhaps we shall carry supplies along highways. Point eight: an amendment to article 3 of the protocol is adopted. Points 3, 7 and 11 are logical and practical; let us see what Mikoyan will have to say.

Points 2 and 6 are correct; won't you let our sailors go to see the girls? Not even on their "days off?" (v vyhodnye dni). They are well behaved. In between came a few political remarks:

In August the Germans, in speaking of the divisions of spheres of interest, mentioned the river Daugava, dividing Latvia into two parts. The Russians did not agree, saying that nations cannot be treated in this way. The Germans always work with a hammer; for example, they intend to turn the Czechs into Germans. Then the Russians announced their interest in Liepaja. Perhaps German pretensions can awaken again.

The Czechs wanted to fight, and also the heads of the army, but the leaders spoiled this (pomeshali).

The English, so say the Estonians, a few years ago wanted to buy Osel and Dago Islands.

In connection with the existence of our army and bases there will be great activity in your ports.

Without having adopted article III and article I of the protocol, we parted. Molotov in parting added: it would be best to sign tonight, and then tomorrow we would celebrate and issue it to the press.

He was peeved that the Estonians had let others know of the 25,000.

### *Supplement.*

In conclusion—and always being guided by the same motives of creating an atmosphere of trust and of evading suspicions of the intentions of the U.S.S.R.—I consider it indispensable now to stipulate, at least in principle, the putting into effect of certain details emanating from Article III:

1. The placement of airfields.
2. The principle of completely separating the leased territories from adjoining territory.
3. The principle that all construction work will be done by Latvian workmen contracted through the Labor Central (Darba Centrale) and with materials of Latvian origin, to the extent that such are available, including it, upon the desire of the Latvian Government, in Latvian exports to the U.S.S.R.
4. The principle that the leased territories will have intercourse with the U.S.S.R. by sea or by air, in the latter case along routes established by mutual agreement.
5. The airfields must be so placed as to lie along the seacoast

(otherwise all kinds of misunderstandings may arise and it may be necessary to raise additional structures).

6. The principle that the rule regarding intercourse of the troops with the territory outside of the bounded areas be fixed by mutual agreement, permitting contact only with institutions determined by the Latvian Government. Troops shall be brought into or withdrawn from the country by sea or by air.

7. If the garrisons with the consent of the Latvian Government should make any purchases in Latvia, as for example the purchase of foodstuffs, such purchases at the wish of the Latvian Government may be included in exports.

8. Differences of opinion which may arise in fixing the place and limits of bases and airfields and in general in the work of the mixed equal commission shall be decided by the Government by means of diplomatic or indirect negotiations.

9. It is undesirable to bring into Latvia tank troops, as they are offensive and not defensive weapons.

10. The Stipulations of section I of Article V fully apply to military measures of Latvia.

11. The rental payment upon the wish of the Latvian Government may be included in Latvian exports to the U.S.S.R.

---



**MUTUAL GUARANTIES.****Pact of Mutual Assistance Between Latvia and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.**

There is printed below, in translation, the text of the Pact of Mutual Assistance between Latvia and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, signed October 5, 1939:

**PACT OF MUTUAL ASSISTANCE BETWEEN LATVIA AND THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS.**

The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. on the one hand and the President of the Latvian Republic on the other, for the purpose of developing the friendly relations created by the peace treaty of August 11, 1920,—10 which were based on the recognition of the independent statehood and noninterference in the internal affairs of the other party;

recognizing that the peace of August 11, 1920, and the agreement of February 5, 1932—11 concerning non-aggression and the amicable settlement of conflicts continue to be the firm basis of their mutual relations and obligations;

convinced that a definition of the precise conditions insuring mutual safety is in accordance with the interests of both contracting parties;

have considered it necessary to conclude between them the following mutual assistance pact and for this purpose have appointed as their plenipotentiaries:

The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.; V. M. Molotov, President of the Soviet of People's Commissars and People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs; The President of the Republic of Latvia; Vilhelm Munters, Minister for Foreign Affairs; who having mutually verified their credentials, which were found to be executed in the required form and in proper order, have agreed upon the following:

Article 1. Both contracting parties undertake to render each other every assistance, including military, in the event of a direct attack, or threat of attack, on the part of any European great power, with respect to the sea borders of the contracting parties on the Baltic Sea, or their land borders through the territory of the Estonian or Latvian Republics, or also the bases referred to in article III.

Article II. The Soviet Union undertakes to render assistance on preferential conditions to the Latvian Army in the shape of armaments and other war materials.

Article III. In order to insure the safety of the U.S.S.R. and to consolidate her own independence, the Latvian Republic grants to the Union the right to maintain in the cities of Liepaja (Libava) and Ventspils (Vindava) naval bases and several airfields for aviation purposes on leasehold at a reasonable rental. The locations of

the bases and airfields shall be exactly specified and their boundaries determined by mutual agreement.

For the purpose of protecting the Straits of Irbe, the Soviet Union is given the right to establish on the same conditions a coast artillery base between Ventspils and Pitragi.

For the purpose of protecting the naval bases, the airfields, and the coast artillery base, the Soviet Union has the right to maintain at its own expense on the areas set aside for bases and airfields a strictly limited number of Soviet land and air forces, the maximum number of which is to be fixed by special agreement.

Article IV. Both contracting parties undertake not to enter into any alliances or to participate in any coalitions directed against one of the contracting parties.

Article V. The carrying into effect of the present pact must in no way affect the sovereign rights of the contracting parties, in particular their political structure, their economic and social system, and their military measures.

The areas set aside for the bases and airfields (Article III) remain the territory of the Latvian Republic.

Article VI. The present pact goes into force with the exchange of documents of ratification. The Exchange of documents will take place in the city of Riga within 6 days after the signing of the present pact. The present pact shall remain in force for a period of 10 years, and in the event that one of the contracting parties does not consider it necessary to denounce the present pact 1 year prior to the expiration of such period, it will automatically remain in force for the following 10 years.

In witness whereof the above-named plenipotentiaries have signed this pact and affixed their seals thereto.

Executed in Moscow in duplicate, in the Lettish and Russian languages, October 5, 1939.

V. MUNTERS,  
V. MOLOTOV.

**POWER OF ATTORNEY.**

State Chancery

May 18, 1940

No. 48.

Riga, Valdemāra ielā 3, Apt. 4.

**TO THE MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS:**

The State Chancery notifies that the Cabinet of Ministers in its session of May 17 of this year determined:

1. In case it should no longer be possible to communicate with Latvia's diplomatic and consular missions in Western Europe due to war conditions, to confer extraordinary powers upon Kārlis Zariņš, Latvian Envoy in London.
2. The moment when these powers shall come into effect shall be declared by the Minister for Foreign Affairs by giving the relevant order to the Envoy in London, in which he shall define which missions shall be subject to the extraordinary powers.
3. If it should prove impossible for the Minister for Foreign Affairs because of technical reasons to notify the Envoy in London of his order, the extraordinary powers conferred upon the latter shall come into effect automatically.

The Envoy in London verifies this by (sending) a relevant telegraphic request to the Minister for Foreign Affairs and upon failing to receive a reply within twenty-four hours shall act upon the basis of the extraordinary powers until the moment when communications with the Minister for Foreign Affairs are again renewed.

4. The extraordinary powers conferred upon Kārlis Zariņš, Envoy in London, pertain to all Latvia's diplomatic and consular missions except (those) in the following States: Estonia, Lithuania, Finland, Sweden, Germany and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.
5. Should Envoy Kārlis Zariņš die or lose his freedom of action while his extraordinary powers are in effect, the extraordinary powers granted by this decision shall pass over to Alfred Bilmanis, Latvian Envoy in the United States of America.
6. The extraordinary powers give the right:
  - a. to defend to the best ability Latvia's interests in all countries except Estonia, Lithuania, Finland, Sweden, Germany and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics;
  - b. for this purpose to give binding orders to all Latvia's missions except (those) in the States previously mentioned;
  - c. to operate with all State funds, movable and immovable property at the disposal of the said missions;
  - d. temporarily to remove from office envoys, as well as to remove from office and to transfer all the other employees of the missions;
  - e. to liquidate missions, with the exception of the Legation in the United States of America;
  - f. to designate delegates to meetings and conferences;

- g. in extraordinary circumstances which might obstruct the use of these powers to transfer them to Envoy Alfreds Bilmanis.

(Signed) R. BULSONS,

*Acting Director of State Chancery.*

(Signed) B. ROZE,

*Acting Chief of Division.*

I certify the correctness of this copy:

(Signed) T. ANSEVICS,

*Director of the Administrative Dept.*

---

### LATVIAN OFFICIAL DEMENTI OF GROUNDLESS SOVIET RUSSIAN ACCUSATIONS.

LTA (Latvian Telegraph Agency), Riga, June 15, 1940. The official announcement of the Soviet agency TASS regarding the liquidation of the Soviet-Lithuanian conflict states, among other things, that Lithuania had entered into a secret military alliance with Latvia and Estonia, thereby turning the Baltic Entente into a military alliance of the three States. The Latvian Telegraph Agency is authorized to announce that this statement does not coincide with actuality, as Lithuania has not joined the military treaty signed between Latvia and Estonia on November 1, 1923, and that no other military agreement exists between the three Baltic States.

---

### SOVIET RUSSIAN ULTIMATUM TO LATVIA.

On June 16, 1940, Molotov, president of the Soviet of People's Commissars of the Soviet Union, delivered to the Latvian Minister Kociņš the following announcement addressed to the Latvian Government:

"On the basis of the material of facts at the disposal of the Soviet Government and also of the exchange of views which recently took place in Moscow between President Molotov of the Soviet of People's Commissars of the Soviet Union and Prime Minister Merkis of Lithuania, the Soviet Government considers it assured that not only has the Latvian Government failed to liquidate the military alliance with Estonia which was created before the conclusion of the Latvian-Soviet mutual assistance pact and was aimed against the Soviet Union, but has even extended this alliance by enticing into it Lithuania and is attempting to include in it also Finland. Until the conclusion of the Latvian-Soviet pact of mutual assistance in the fall of 1939 the Soviet Government could view casually the existence

of such a military alliance, although as a matter of fact it was contrary to the pact of non-aggression previously signed between the Soviet Union and Latvia. But after the conclusion of the pact of mutual assistance the Soviet Government considers the existence of the military alliance between Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania and aimed against the Soviet Union not only unpermissible and unbearable, but also seriously dangerous and menacing to the security of the frontiers of the Soviet Union.

"The Soviet Government reckoned upon the withdrawal of Latvia from the military alliance with the other Baltic States after the conclusion of the Latvian-Soviet pact of mutual assistance and that in this manner the military alliance would be abolished. Instead Latvia together with the other Baltic States has acted to revive and expand the above-mentioned military alliance, to which testify such facts as the conversation of two secret conferences of the three Baltic States in December, 1939, and March, 1940, in order to develop formally the expanded military alliance with Estonia and Lithuania, the enhancement of relations between the general staffs of Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania secretly from the Soviet Union, the creation in February, 1940, of a special press organ of the military Baltic entente—the 'Revue Baltique', which is published in Tallinn in English, French and German, etc.

"All these facts go to show that the Latvian Government has grossly violated the Latvian-Soviet mutual Assistance Pact, which forbids both parties 'to conclude any unions whatsoever or to participate in coalitions, which would be directed against one of the contracting parties' (Article 4 of the treaty). This gross violation of the Latvian-Soviet mutual assistance pact on the part of the Latvian Government takes place at a time when the Soviet Union has conducted and continues to conduct a supremely favorable and definitely pro-Latvian policy, scrupulously observing all the requirements of the Latvian-Soviet mutual assistance pact. The Soviet Government finds that it can no longer suffer such a state of affairs.

"The Soviet Government considers the following completely indispensable and not to be postponed: 1. the establishment in Latvia immediately of a government capable of and ready to ensure the honest execution of the Latvian-Soviet pact of mutual assistance; 2. to ensure without delay the free entry of Soviet troops into Latvian territory, in order to place them in the most important centers of Latvia in such numbers as to secure the possibility of realizing the Latvian-Soviet pact of mutual assistance and to avoid possible provocative acts against Soviet garrisons in Latvia.

"The Soviet Government considers compliance with this demand to be the elementary stipulation without which it is impossible to achieve the honest and loyal execution of the Latvian-Soviet pact of mutual assistance."

**NOTE OF K. ZARINŠ, LATVIAN ENVOY IN LONDON, PRO-  
TESTING AGAINST THE INCORPORATION OF LATVIA  
INTO U. S. S. R. AS BEING UNCONSTITU-  
TIONAL AND ILLEGAL.**

**(Addressed to the British Foreign Office on July 23, 1940.)**

One of the principal aims of Latvia since the proclamation of her independence in 1918 has been the development of good and cordial relations with all states and especially with her nearest neighbours, chiefly among them the U.S.S.R. To this end several important treaties have been concluded between the two countries, besides the Peace Treaty of 1920, such as the Treaty of Non-aggression, Definition of Aggressor, and several others; and lastly, on October 5, 1939, was signed the Treaty of Mutual Assistance, Article 5 of which says: *"The enforcement of this pact shall not affect the sovereign rights of the Contracting Parties in any way, especially their state structure, economic and social systems and military measures."*

On her part Latvia has scrupulously adhered to her promises. Yet, on June 16, the Soviet Government presented Latvia with new, far-reaching demands for the increase of troops garrisoned on Latvian territory and for a change of Government—and practically occupied the whole of Latvia. In itself, the demand by one state for a change of Government in another cannot be regarded otherwise than as a breach of sovereignty, and the sovereignty of Latvia the U.S.S.R. had solemnly undertaken to respect.

These demands were made on the basis of allegations that Latvia had maintained her military alliance of 1923 with Estonia, to which no objections were raised at the time of the conclusion of the Pact of Mutual Assistance of October 5, 1939. It was further alleged that Latvia was engaged in the conclusion of military alliances with Lithuania and possibly even with Finland which, to my knowledge, is entirely untrue.

On July 14 and 15 elections were held for a Latvian Parliament. Only ten days' notice was given for the preparation of these elections, and the only political organization that could be ready was the Latvian Communist Party, which was legalised only on June 16, and which had its headquarters abroad and has always been directed from abroad. These elections were carried out under threat, in the presence of a strong foreign armed force and under the supervision of a high Soviet official, Vice-President of the Council of Peoples Commissars, M. Vishinsky, who has made several public pronouncements in Latvia expressing views on interior matters of Latvia. This fact too must be regarded as a breach of sovereignty.

The new Government established in Latvia following the Soviet demands in one of its latest declarations styles itself as Government of Soviet Latvia, making it clear that it regards itself as such from the first day of its existence. Frequent exalting messages of

homage have been sent to Stalin, Kalinin and other high Russian functionaries.

All this cannot be regarded as the acts of a free and independent Government, neither can the recent elections be regarded as an expression of the free will of the people. On the contrary, because of the presence of armed foreign forces and high Government officials, they must be viewed as enacted under duress. This among other facts is confirmed by a declaration of gratitude to the U.S.S.R. and the Red Army passed by the new Parliament.

The Parliament thus elected passed a resolution to join the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. The Latvian Constitution of 1920 which, in its fundamental parts, was still in force, and on the basis of which the elections were supposed to have been carried out, does not give such powers to the Parliament. Art. 1 of the Constitution reads: "Latvia is an independent democratic Republic" and this article can be changed only by a referendum.

The Latvian people have fought hard and gallantly for their independence, also against Soviet Russian troops. The spirit of the war of independence was always alive, and every impartial observer will therefore know it impossible that the Latvians of their own free will would sacrifice their hardly won and dearly cherished independence.

Taking into consideration all that is mentioned above, I as representative of the independent Latvian Government accredited in London in 1938 by appointment from President Kviesis, and since 1936 representing President Ulmanis, who has now, on July 19, 1940, been deposed from his office, have the honour to ask His Majesty's Government to regard the recent happenings in Latvia as enacted under duress, and venture to express the hope that His Majesty's Government will understand my position and will not recognize the incorporation of Latvia in the U.S.S.R.

(Signed) K. ZARINS,

*Minister of Latvia in London.*

**STATEMENT OF DR. ALFRED BILMANIS, LATVIAN MINISTER, ABOUT NOT RECOGNIZING THE SAEIMA ELECTIONS IN LATVIA TO BE HELD ON JULY 14-15, 1940, AS BEING ILLEGAL AND UNCONSTITUTIONAL.**

Released to the Press  
on July 13, 1940.

The Latvian Minister has been informed that the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics had without any foundation charged the Latvian Government with violating the Latvian-Soviet Mutual Assistance Treaty of October 5, 1939. Press information has been also received that a supplementary agreement was reached on June 16, 1940, between the Latvian Government and the U.S.S.R. for the purpose of enforcing the fulfillment of the said Mutual-Assistance Treaty. But such an agreement has never been ratified, proclaimed, or published and there is no information that this agreement became ratified by the Latvian Government. So it is evident that the Latvian Government was served with an ultimatum.

It is said that on the basis of the mysterious agreement previously mentioned large numbers of Soviet troops were permitted to enter Latvia and a new pro-Soviet temporary Government was formed.

This new Government has proclaimed elections to be held on July 14 and 15—"in accordance with Article 6 of the Latvian Constitution" as stated by Prime Minister Augusts Kirshenšteins in his telegram to Joseph Stalin. This Article reads as follows:

"6. Saeima (Parliament) is elected by general, equal, direct, secret and proportionate elections."

The Latvian Minister wishes to observe that in spite of his cabled inquiries to the Latvian Ministry of Foreign Affairs for authentic information as to the nature of the elections to be held, no reply has been received other than a confirmation to the receipt of his cablegrams. It is known to this Legation that the great majority of the Latvian people have been deprived of the right to organize parties, propose their candidates and conduct election campaigns. The only party admitted to the elections is the pro-Soviet United Workers Bloc, representing only a very small fraction of the electorate. Therefore the issue of these elections, be it a Saeima (Parliament), Government or President, cannot be considered as representative of the actual will of the Latvian nation as provided for in Article 6 of the Latvian Constitution, particularly taking into view the presence of huge military forces of the U.S.S.R. in Latvia.

In view of these facts the Latvian Minister, having been appointed by the constitutionally-elected President of Latvia, Alberts Kviesis, and therefore speaking in the name of the Latvian nation, reserves the right not to recognize the results of the coming elections and the acts emanating therefrom.

**DR. ALFRED BILMANIS,**  
*Latvian Minister.*

Washington, D. C.



**LATVIA—A VICTIM OF UNPROVOKED AGGRESSION OF  
SOVIET RUSSIA.****STATEMENT BY DR. ALFRED BILMANIS, LATVIAN  
MINISTER IN WASHINGTON.**

Released to the Press  
on July 21, 1940.

News has just been received that Latvia has been proclaimed a Soviet Republic and that the pro-Soviet Latvian puppet Parliament has requested Moscow to incorporate Latvia into the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Thus Latvia has been made the victim of unprovoked aggression by the U.S.S.R.

The basis of Latvia's tragedy is her geographic position, lying as she does on the eastern shore of the Baltic Sea between the two colossi of Europe—Germany and Soviet Russia. It must be stressed once again that the Latvians are not Slavs: their language, together with Lithuanian, forms a separate branch of the Indo-European group and they are the modern languages most closely related to the ancient Sanscrit. The majority of Latvians are of the Lutheran faith, and they believe that religion, family life private property and self-government are the principles upon which State life must be based.

Latvia has always been aware of its dangerous position, and for this reason has done everything within its power to be a good neighbor, to cooperate for peace and to observe the strictest neutrality in all international conflicts. Having signed non-aggression treaties with both Germany and the U.S.S.R., Latvia had hopes that her neutrality would be respected and that she would be able to continue her peaceful work of building up the country. These hopes were shattered by the agreement signed between Germany and Soviet Russia in August, 1939, under the terms of which the three Baltic States were considered to be within the Russian sphere of interest.

The first act of Latvia's tragedy began after the conquest of Poland. Soviet Russia declared the Republic of Latvia was incapable of adequately defending its neutrality, although Latvia was not menaced by any power and Germany, the only possible enemy of Russia, had established friendly relationship with the latter country. Soviet Russia proposed that naval bases in Latvia be leased to the U.S.S.R. and that a pact of mutual assistance be signed between the two countries "in order to insure the safety of the U.S.S.R. and to consolidate the independence of Latvia."

In view of the international situation Latvia was compelled to agree to this, and the treaty was signed on October 5, 1939. According to the terms of this pact both countries solemnly declared that "the carrying into effect of the pact must in no way affect the sovereign rights of the contracting parties, in particular their political structure, their social and economic system and their military measures." This promise was formally reiterated by Premier (Vyacheslaff M.)

Molotoff on later occasions, and Latvia accepted it as bona fide and itself fulfilled the terms of the pact punctiliously.

The second act of the tragedy began on the day after the fall of Paris. The U.S.S.R. accused Lithuania on June 14, and Latvia and Estonia on June 16, of forming a secret military alliance against the Soviet Union. Although the Latvian Government categorically denied the accusation, the Soviet Government presented it with an ultimatum in the form of a new agreement. The terms of this agreement were to organize a new pro-Soviet government which could assure the fulfillment of the mutual assistance pact and to permit additional Soviet troops to enter Latvia. This agreement was never ratified, proclaimed or published, because on the morning of June 17, numerous Soviet troops entered Latvia from the east, south and north and occupied Riga the capital of Latvia.

On the same day a puppet government was formed whose main task was to proclaim new elections in accordance with Article VI of the Latvian Constitution and to form closer ties with Soviet Russia. Some of the first acts of the new puppet government were completely unconstitutional. For example, the introduction of the death penalty by decree of government for sabotage, the dissolution of the National Guard, the so-called "democratization" of the Latvian Army by introducing politics into it and placing a Latvian Communist at its head as political commissar, the establishment of worker's soviets and collective farms, the legalizing of the Communist party, etc.

The elections proclaimed by the new government proved to be only a farce, as only one list of candidates was allowed to run—that of the pro-Soviet Workers' Coalition. Approximately 80 per cent of the Latvian population are farmers, and factory workers from less than 3 per cent of the population. In view of this fact and foreseeing that if it ran in the election with its own list the small vote cast for it would make it ridiculous, the Communist party did not run under its own name but joined the list of the Workers' Coalition. The vast majority of the Latvian population were not permitted to form their own lists, nominate candidates and conduct pre-election campaigns. At the same time Soviet soldiers and pro-Soviet political agents participated in the campaign in favor of the Workers' Coalition. All inhabitants, however, were compelled to go to the polls under the threat that if they failed to have the balloting stamp on their passports they might be considered saboteurs. Taking into consideration these facts, it only stands to reason that these "elections" packed the Latvian Saeima (Parliament) with Communists and pro-Soviet delegates. In the same unconstitutional way the Acting President of the republic, Karl Ulmanis, was removed from office.

The pro-Soviet Government, placed its own editors in all newspapers and upon orders from above they wrote that Latvia was not in a position to exist as an independent economic and political unit and must therefore be incorporated into the Soviet Union. These

statements are absurd, as has been proved during the past twenty-two years of Latvia's independence.

During this period Latvia reached a high level of economic independence, had no unemployment and even imported scores of thousands of farm hands from abroad. There was no deficit; the country enjoyed a favorable balance of trade, and it had a maritime fleet of some 200,000 tons. Latvia ranked second in the world flax market, sixth in the timber market, and seventh in the dairy produce market. Soviet Russia's insignificance in Latvia's trade is proved by the figures for 1938: of Latvian total exports amounting to 260,000,000 lats, only 2.6 per cent went to Russia, and of its total imports amounting to 230,000,000 lats, only 3.8 per cent came from the U.S.S.R.

Having a favorable trade balance, Latvia began to pay off its foreign debts. In June, 1939, it redeemed from the Lee Higginson Corporation of New York, its bonds, paying for them \$2,640,000 in cash. Trade with the United States was so good that a direct shipping line was established between these countries.

All these facts prove that there are no grounds to doubt Latvia's right to independence. The one conclusion that can possibly be formed is that Soviet Russia chose this moment to expand her territory at the expense of Latvia by the methods explained above, camouflaging this as a voluntary act of the Latvian people. The Latvian nation was compelled to bow before force of arms, but every Latvian patriot hopes that justice and democracy will finally prevail and that Latvia will regain her independence and liberty.

God bless Latvia!

Washington, July 21, 1940

DR. ALFRED BILMANIS,  
*Latvian Minister.*

**STATEMENT OF UNDERSECRETARY OF STATE, THE HON.  
SUMNER WELLES.\***

Released to the Press  
on July 23, 1940.

During these past few days the devious processes whereunder the political independence and territorial integrity of the three small Baltic republics—Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania—were to be deliberately annihilated by one of their more powerful neighbors, have been rapidly drawing to their conclusion.

From the day when the peoples of these republics first gained their independence and democratic form of government the people of the United States have watched their admirable progress in self-government with deep and sympathetic interest.

The policy of this Government is universally known. The people of the United States are opposed to predatory activities no matter whether they are carried on by the use of force or by the threat of force. They are likewise opposed to any form of intervention on the part of one state, however powerful, in the domestic concerns of any other sovereign state, however weak.

These principles constitute the very foundations upon which the existing relationship between the 21 sovereign republics of the New World rests.

The United States will continue to stand by these principles, because of the conviction of the American people that unless the doctrine in which these principles are inherent once again governs the relations between nations, the rule of reason, of justice, and of law—in other words, the basis of modern civilization itself—cannot be preserved.

---

\* The Department of State *Bulletin*, July 27, 1940. Vol. III: No. 57, page 48.

**THE LATVIAN MINISTER IN WASHINGTON DOES NOT  
RECOGNIZE INCORPORATION OF LATVIA  
INTO THE SOVIET UNION.**

Released to the Press  
on August 6, 1940.

The Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics has proclaimed, on August 6, 1940, the incorporation of the Republic of Latvia into the Soviet Union. The Latvian Minister considers this act to be an outrageous infringement of international law, practice and morals and he solemnly protests against this violation of Latvia's integrity.

Although the U.S.S.R. has attempted to give a semblance of legality to the proceedings, a glance at the Constitution of Latvia shows that this "legality" is nothing but a flimsy veil to cover the annihilation of the independence of a weaker country by brutal force. Article One of the Constitution of Latvia states that

"1. Latvia is an independent democratic republic."

Articles Seventy-six and Seventy-seven of the Constitution further state that

"76. Saeima (Parliament) may amend the Constitution in sessions in which at least two-thirds of the members of Saeima participate. Amendments shall be adopted in three readings by a majority of not less than two-thirds of the votes of the deputies present."

"77. Should the Saeima amend Articles One, Two, Three or Six of the Constitution, such amendments to attain legal force shall be referred to a national referendum."

It is well known that no referendum was carried out in Latvia and that even the Saeima elections were illegal, only one party being permitted to run. Moreover, no referendum or plebiscite could have been carried out in the presence of the huge military forces of the Soviet Union occupying Latvia. Thus the action of the U.S.S.R. and of the Latvian puppet Saeima in incorporating the Republic of Latvia into the Soviet Union does not have the slightest constitutional legality.

Washington, D. C.

DR. ALFRED BILMANIS,  
*Latvian Minister.*

**NOTE OF THE LATVIAN MINISTER IN WASHINGTON, DELIVERED ON JANUARY 12, 1941, TO THE REPRESENTATIVE OF GERMANY IN WASHINGTON IN PROTEST AGAINST THE GERMAN-SOVIET RUSSIAN FRONTIER AGREEMENT SIGNED ON JANUARY 10, 1941, IN MOSCOW.**

Released to the Press  
on January 12, 1941.

**SIR:**

Acting on behalf of the present highest Latvian State authority, the Latvian Minister in London, Karlis Zarins, duly appointed as such by the Legal Latvian Government on May 17, 1940—*id est*, before the armed invasion of Soviet Russia in Latvia—to represent the Latvian Republic and to defend Latvian interests abroad in case of war emergency, I beg Your Excellency to transmit to Your Government my protest against the agreement signed January 10, 1941, in Moscow between Your Government and Soviet Russia concerning the frontiers of the two States.

By this agreement the German Government evidently legalizes the predatory and aggressive act of Soviet Russia against Latvia which issued in the annexation of Latvia by Soviet Russia under camouflage of forced elections by pressure of considerable Soviet armed forces brought into Latvia after an absolutely unjustified ultimatum.

By legalizing this aggressive act of Soviet Russia the German Government has violated all treaties with Latvia including the non-aggression pact and is sharing with the Soviet Government the responsibility for the breach of solemn promises to respect and recognize Latvian independence and neutrality.

Accept, Sir, the assurance of my high consideration.

(Signed) DR. ALFRED BILMANIS,  
*Latvian Minister.*

His Excellency  
H. THOMSEN,  
*Minister Plenipotentiary,*  
German Charge d'Affairs a.i.  
Washington.

## AMERICAN SYMPATHIES TO THE BALTIC STATES.

In these trying times America emerges as the real friend and good neighbor of all small nations—also of the Baltic Nations. This fully confirms with the historic statement made by President Roosevelt.

On October 15, 1940, when receiving a Lithuanian delegation representing nearly one million American Lithuanians, President Roosevelt declared: "Even the smallest nation has the same right to enjoy independence as the largest one . . ."

The American nation itself has taken a firm pro-Baltic stand. The Governors of the States of New York, Massachusetts, Maryland and New Jersey proclaimed June 15, 1941, as Baltic States' Day. This, incidentally is also the day of the signing of the Magna Charta. In this connection Governor H. H. Lehman of New York issued the following proclamation:\*\*

"The citizens of America resolved to defend their liberties at home and to champion the cause of representative government abroad, feel deep sympathy for the peoples of those small republics whose independence either has been crushed or is threatened.

"Among these enslaved nations are the Republics of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, which have provided this country with many loyal citizens now banded together in the Baltic American Society to preserve democracy here and to restore its benefits in their home lands.

"Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania have long been symbols of liberty. Their peoples have for centuries made great sacrifices for freedom and democracy. It is fitting, therefore, that the citizens of New York State formally convey their sympathies to the people of these enslaved nations and give public expression of the hope that they will soon regain their freedom.

"Now, therefore, I, Herbert H. Lehman, Governor of the State of New York, do hereby designate Sunday, June fifteenth, as Baltic States' Day, upon which appropriate exercises may be held to celebrate the bonds of affection and regard existing between America and the distressed Baltic peoples."

### Proclamation of Governor Saltonstall of the State of Massachusetts.

Governor Saltonstall urged, June 10, 1941, the citizens of Massachusetts to join in the nation-wide observance of Baltic States' Day on Sunday, June 15. His statement read as follows:

"The citizens of America who are resolved to defend their liberties at home and to champion the cause of representative government abroad, feel deep sympathy for the peoples of those small republics whose independence either has been crushed or is threat-

---

\* See "*The Lithuanian Situation*" published by the Lithuanian Legation in Washington, June 15, 1941.

\*\* Published by the *Latvian Information Bulletin*, June, 1941. Washington, D. C.

ened. Among those enslaved nations are the Republics of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania which have provided this country with many loyal citizens now banded together in the Baltic-American Society to preserve the democracy here and to restore its benefits in their homelands.

"Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania have long been symbols of liberty. Their people have for centuries made great sacrifices for freedom and democracy. It is fitting, therefore, that the citizens of Massachusetts convey their sympathy to the people of these enslaved nations and give public expression of the hope that they will soon regain their freedom. Consequently, I designate Sunday, June fifteenth, a BALTIC STATES' DAY, and suggest that appropriate exercises may be held to celebrate the bonds of affection and regard existing between America and the distressed Baltic peoples."

**Proclamation of Governor H. R. O'Connor of the State of Maryland, on June 10, 1941.**

"Executive Department, Annapolis, Maryland.

Governor's Proclamation "BALTIC STATES' DAY, June 15, 1941.

WHEREAS, the people of America have always championed the cause of representative government throughout the world and, therefore, have the greatest sympathy for the people of those small nations, whose independence has been destroyed, and

WHEREAS, among those enslaved nations are the Republics of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, which have given to this country many loyal citizens, groups of whom are now banded together in the Baltic American Society of Maryland and other Baltic Groups, to preserve Democracy here and to restore its benefits in their respective homelands, and

WHEREAS, it is fitting on the first anniversary of the invasion of these Baltic Republics that the citizens of our State give formal expression to their sympathy, and voice publicly their hope for the early return of freedom of these unfortunate nations;

NOW, THEREFORE, I, HERBERT R. O'CONOR, GOVERNOR OF THE STATE OF MARYLAND, do hereby designate Sunday, June 15th, as BALTIC STATES' DAY, upon which appropriate exercises may be held to memorialize the bonds of affection and sympathy existing between America and the distressed Baltic peoples.

#### **Appeal of the Dean of St. John's Cathedral.**

Rev. James P. de Wolfe, Dean of the Cathedral of St. John, The Divine, expresses his sympathies for the Baltic States in an appeal to the Protestant Christendom in New York, as follows:

"On this, the third Sunday in June, we commemorate the signing of Magna Charta and in honor of this we will have a special Processional Service at the conclusion of the 11 o'clock Celebration of the Holy Communion. I am anxious that all members of the congregation should take part in it.



"The over-tones of this Festival of Freedom are brought home to us in a poignant way by the special prayer which our Bishop will offer for the enslaved Baltic States and other distressed Countries. Magna Charta makes the liberty of all men vital to us. Therefore, no more appropriate day could be chosen to express our sympathy and concern for the ancient nations of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania."

Among the numerous American friends of the Baltic Nations is to be placed also Mr. Wendell Willkie, the Republican Presidential Candidate of 1940, who sent the following message to the Committee for the Baltic States' Day at the World's Fair, New York, October 6, 1940:

"The peoples of the Baltic States, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, have brought to the United States a spirit of hardihood, co-operation with their fellow-men, self-reliance and a will to independence which have contributed greatly to the American way of life. In this time of trial for these brave, small countries, every American heart goes out in sympathy for the innocent victims of the greed of dictatorship and oppressive government.

"I am proud to add my voice to that of liberty-loving people the world around in congratulating the Americans of Estonian, Latvian and Lithuanian origin on their stand against the totalitarian doctrines, and on their staunch adherence to our democratic principles.

"Americans of Estonian, Latvian and Lithuanian birth have known oppression; such men and women value liberty as did my grandparents who fled from autocracy. Since they value liberty, I know they will join the crusade to preserve the free America that they came to. America would not be the land of the free if it were not also the home of the brave."

These declarations and proclamations fully conform with the Atlantic Charter and are, so to say, the foundation upon which the Baltic peoples build their hopes for their future freedom after the victory of the Democracies. There ought not to be any doubt that after victory also the Baltic Nations will regain their freedom and that all communistic scheming and false propaganda will meet with strong opposition.

## BOLSHEVIKS DEPORTED LATVIAN INTELLECTUALS FOR POLITICAL REASONS.

Some time before the German-Russian war the news came from various sources that the Latvian intelligentsia and others were being cruelly treated by the Bolsheviks and that many of them were being deported to Russia. By the end of June scores of thousands of Latvians, mainly from among the intelligentsia and the middle class, including children among them, have been deported to Soviet Russia to an unknown destination and fate.

It is evident that the Russians would maintain that the deported persons represent "elements" who have, or would have, opposed them, and that it is for the purposes of their (?) war against Germany that these elements have been removed. It could be, however, stated quite definitely that the vast majority of the type of people in question, although *certainly not Communistic*, were equally *certainly not pro-German*. On the contrary, they were, rather, anti-German, and there was no danger of their assisting the Germans. Naturally, however, it would not be surprising that as they had been so badly treated by the Bolsheviks, enthusiasm to fight at their side would be lacking.

It may, perhaps, be suspected that this news of mass deportation from Latvia is a piece of German propaganda. It is true that one cannot verify the figures, but other reliable sources also report the same, and mention that the process had *started before the German-Russian war, for political reasons!*

But for the act of June 16, 1940, when the Russians decided to tear up their very comprehensive Pact of Mutual Assistance with Latvia, and to embark on the Sovietization and Russification of Latvia, it is sure that in June, 1941, the independent Latvians would have been very true fighters for the cause of the Democracies.

The Latvian Permanent Delegate in Geneva (Switzerland), Mr. Julijs Feldmans, has obtained from the Headquarters of the International Red Cross in Geneva and communicated to the Latvian Legation in Washington the following list of murdered, exiled and missing Latvian citizens for the period of Bolshevik reign of terror in Latvia, as from June 17, 1940, to July, 1941. The table below shows the victims according to their occupation:

	<i>Exiled on June 13-14</i>	<i>Arrested and exiled after June 14, 1941</i>	<i>Missing</i>	<i>Murdered</i>	<i>Total</i>
Agriculture.....	3,838	766	551	226	5,381
Trade, commerce and industry.....	1,586	1,084	2,988	162	5,820
Transportation.....	227	381	2,375	59	2,942
Army, Police.....	982	682	3,340	190	5,194
Civil Service.....	1,311	599	569	77	2,556
Doctors, lawyers, etc...	697	178	209	44	1,128
Houseowners.....	196	38	.....	12	251
Students, children.....	3,290	364	1,070	49	4,773
Housewives.....	1,953	42	298	3	2,296
Professions unknown....	613	2,007	749	540	3,909
Total.....	14,693	6,041	12,161	1,355	34,250

## DEPORTATION OF LATVIANS

## Information Regarding Movement of Certain Trains, In Which the Arrested Latvian Citizens Have Been Deported to Soviet Russia In June, 1941.

No. of freight letter	Railroad Stations		Railroad Line	Direction	Transferred to Russian Railroad	Number of cars	Sender's-Receiver's Designation	Notes (Sender's signature)
	Departure	Destination						
23990	16.6.41.	Jelgava	Jenisej	Krasnojarsk	Indra	64	236. army NKVD	
24009	16.6.41.	Jelgava	Jenisej	Krasnojarsk	Indra	73	236. army NKVD	
24010	17.6.41.	Jelgava	Babinino	Moscow-Kiev	Indra	59	236. army NKVD	
174192	21.6.41.	Riga pass.	Leningrad	Okzabr	Valka	Prison Car 1	155th spec. batt.	
174083	21.6.41.	Riga pass.	Moscow pass.	Kalinin	Zilupe	Prison Car 1	155th spec. batt.	
173590	16.6.41.	Riga pass.	Moscow pass.	Kalinin	Zilupe	Prison Car 1	155th spec. batt.	
177789	24.6.41.	Riga freight	Leningrad	?	Valka	6	NKVD	
177790	24.6.41.	Riga freight	Pskov	Leningrad	Valka	12	NKVD	
60911	27.6.41.	Riga freight	Moscow	Leningrad	Valka	3	NKVD	
177791	24.6.41.	Riga freight	Moscow	Leningrad	Valka	4	NKVD	
60912	27.6.41.	Riga freight	Valka	Leningrad	Valka	4	NKVD	
33773	15.6.41.	Sikrotaava	Babinino	Moscow-Kiev	Indra	56	155th spec. batt.	
33674	16.6.41.	Sikrotaava (Shunting st.)	Novosibirsk	Tomak	Indra	81	155th spec. batt.	A. Lenaki
33682	16.6.41.	Sikrotaava (Shunting st.)	Akmolinsk	Karagandisk	Zilupe	6	155th spec. batt.	A. Lenaki
33683	16.6.41.	Sikrotaava (Shunting st.)	Babinino	Moscow-Kiev	Indra	23	155th spec. batt.	
33685	16.6.41.	Sikrotaava (Shunting st.)	Kuks	Omak	Zilupe	11	155th spec. batt.	Lenaki
33731	22.6.41.	Sikrotaava (Shunting st.)	Kotla	Gorkovsk	Indra	Prison Car 1	155th spec. batt.	
33732	22.6.41.	Sikrotaava (Shunting st.)	Potnja	Penza	Indra	Prison Car 1	155th spec. batt.	Karcagin
33733	22.6.41.	Sikrotaava (Shunting st.)	Kuks	Omak	Indra	Prison Car 5	155th spec. batt.	Jeremejev
33734	22.6.41.	Sikrotaava (Shunting st.)	Vladivostok	Piejuras (Sea-side)	Indra	Prison Car 5	155th spec. batt.	Jeremejev
33735	22.6.41.	Sikrotaava (Shunting st.)	Novosibirsk	Tomak	Indra	Prison Car 4	155th spec. batt.	Jeremejev
33736	22.6.41.	Sikrotaava (Shunting st.)	Babinino	Moscow-Kiev	Indra	Prison Car 8	155th spec. batt.	Radzanovsk
33747	24.6.41.	Sikrotaava (Shunting st.)	Kuibishev	Kuibishev	Indra	Prison Car 15	155th spec. batt.	
37962	15.6.41.	Tornkains (Freight II)	Jenisej	Krasnojarsk	Zilupe	Prison Car 54	155th spec. batt.	Brivbas
27211	24.6.41.	Krustpils Daugavpils	Kuibishev	Kuibishev	Indra	Prison Car 57	155th spec. batt.	Street 93
8187	?	II pr. (Freight II)	Babinino	Moscow-Kiev	Indra	Prison Car 48	155th spec. batt.	Varegov
8189	?	II Daugavpils (Freight II)	Acinsk	Krasnojarsk	Indra	Prison Car 55		Train arrived from D station without documents issued at Indra
8144	?	II pr. (Freight II)	Kanak-Jeniseisk	Krasnojarsk	Indra	Prison Car 75		
8145	?	II Daugavpils (Freight II)	Babinino	Moscow-Kiev	Indra	Prison Car 46		
6075	?	II pr. (Freight II)	Gladan	Krasnojarsk	Indra	Prison Car 45		
6074	?	Indra	Karaganda	Karagandisk	Indra	Prison Car 4		
Signed: I. I. Chief of the Income control,							Total	824 cars

Signed: f. f. Chief of the Income control.

**STATEMENT OF THE LATVIAN MINISTER IN WASHINGTON  
REGARDING THE GERMAN-RUSSIAN WAR.**

Released to the Press  
on June 25, 1941

The Latvian Minister in the United States of America, duly accredited by the independent and legal Government of Latvia to represent the Latvian Nation in this country and invested with special full powers in case of an emergency to act in the best interests of the Latvian Nation, has the honor to make the following Statement in connection with the recent armed conflict between Germany and Soviet Russia in which against its will the Latvian Nation might be involved without the possibility to express its independent point of view, or to influence the outcome of the present war between two great Powers waged in part on the territory of Latvia.

The Republic of Latvia, a free and independent country, was invaded on June 17, 1940, by strong Soviet Russian armed forces in violation of all existing treaties between Latvia and Soviet Russia and contrary to solemn pledges given to Latvia and its statesmen by the Government and the leaders of the U.S.S.R. Similarly were invaded Estonia and Lithuania.

By the way of brutal aggression and treachery and through enforced elections of a puppet parliament, the U.S.S.R. took control of all the institutions of Latvia and annexed Latvia and made it a part of Communistic Soviet Russia, thus committing illegal acts never recognized by the Latvian Nation and its representatives who were not under the duress of the invaders.

According to the news filtering out of occupied Latvia a regime of communistic terrorism had been established in Latvia; the social, economic and political order destroyed, and religious life suppressed; indescribable, inhuman sufferings were the results. Similar events took place in Estonia and Lithuania.

It is evident that the Latvian Nation has struggled by all possible and available means to liberate itself from the brutal Soviet invaders.

At the same time it is evident also that the change from the monstrous terroristic military occupation by Soviet Russia to military occupation by German troops apparently taking place at the present moment in Latvia will not bring freedom and full independence to Latvia and its inhabitants.

As duly accredited Latvian Envoy and Minister Plenipotentiary I have the honor to declare solemnly in the name of the Latvian Nation that Latvia will continue to struggle for her complete and unconditional independence.

With gratitude for the sympathetic support given by the Government of the United States of America and the great American Nation to the cause of freedom of Latvia, the Latvian Minister requests the continued goodwill and support of the United States of America in the present difficult situation of Latvia, the innocent God-fearing people of which are now suffering all the horrors of war waged between two great military powers against the will of

the Latvian Nation, which asks only to be permitted to become again free and independent and to enjoy the fruits of its hard labor and to live as a really good neighbor.

DR. ALFRED BILMANIS

*Latvian Minister in Washington.*

Washington, D. C., June 25, 1941.

---

**DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES, KNOWN AS THE ATLANTIC CHARTER, BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND THE PRIME MINISTER OF THE UNITED KINGDOM, AUGUST 14, 1941.\***

Joint declaration of the President of the United States of America and the Prime Minister, Mr. Churchill, representing His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, being met together, deem it right to make known certain common principles in the national policies of their respective countries on which they base their hopes for a better future for the world.

First, their countries seek no aggrandizement, territorial or other;

Second, they desire to see no territorial changes that do not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned;

Third, they respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live; and they wish to see sovereign rights and self-government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them;

Fourth, they will endeavor, with due respect for their existing obligations, to further the enjoyment by all States, great or small, victor or vanquished, of access, on equal terms, to the trade and to the raw materials of the world which are needed for their economic prosperity;

Fifth, they desire to bring about the fullest collaboration between all nations in the economic field with the object of securing, for all, improved labor standards, economic advancement and social security;

Sixth, after the final destruction of the Nazi tyranny, they hope to see established a peace which will afford to all nations the means of dwelling in safety within their own boundaries, and which will afford assurance that all the men in all the lands may live out their lives in freedom from fear and want;

Seventh, such a peace should enable all men to traverse the high seas and oceans without hindrance;

Eighth, they believe that all of the nations of the world, for realistic as well as spiritual reasons must come to the abandonment of the use of force. Since no future peace can be maintained if land, sea or air armaments continue to be employed by nations which threaten, or may threaten, aggression outside of their

---

\* Executive Agreement Series 236, *Cooperative War Effort*. Published by the United States Government Printing Office, Washington, 1942. Page 4.

frontiers, they believe, pending the establishment of a wider and permanent system of general security, that the disarmament of such nations is essential. They will likewise aid and encourage all other practicable measures which will lighten for peace-loving peoples the crushing burden of armaments.

---

**DECLARATION BY UNITED NATIONS:\***

**A Joint Declaration by the United States of America, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, China, Australia, Belgium, Canada, Costa Rica, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, India, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Panama, Poland, South Africa, Yugoslavia.**

The Governments signatory hereto,

Having subscribed to a common program of purposes and principles embodied in the Joint Declaration of the President of the United States of America and the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland dated August 14, 1941, known as the Atlantic Charter.

Being convinced that complete victory over their enemies is essential to defend life, liberty, independence and religious freedom, and to preserve human rights and justice in their own lands as well as in other lands, and that they are now engaged in a common struggle against savage and brutal forces seeking to subjugate the world, DECLARE:

(1) Each Government pledges itself to employ its full resources, military or economic, against those members of the Tripartite Pact and its adherents with which such government is at war.

(2) Each Government pledges itself to cooperate with the Governments signatory hereto and not to make a separate armistice or peace with the enemies.

The foregoing declaration may be adhered to by other nations which are, or which may be, rendering material assistance and contributions in the struggle for victory over Hitlerism.

Done at Washington  
January First, 1942

The United States of America  
by FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT  
The United Kingdom of Great Britain  
& Northern Ireland  
by WINSTON S. CHURCHILL  
(and other signatures)

---

\* Executive Agreement Series 236. *Cooperative War Effort*. Published by the United States Government Printing Office: 1942.

**LATVIA SUPPORTS THE PRINCIPLES OF THE ANTI-AXIS  
DECLARATION.**

**Statement of the Latvian Minister in Washington.**

**Released to the Press on January 4, 1942.**

The Latvian Minister, Dr. Alfred Bilmanis, submitted on January 4, 1942, to the Department of State, in the name of the Latvian Nation and Government, now subjugated by Nazi Germany, a declaration in which he states that Latvia gives full support to the principles of the anti-Axis Declaration of the United Nations, expresses its solidarity with the Pact and pledges all possible help to the cause of victory over Nazi Germany.

In his declaration the Latvian Minister expressed his thanks for the sympathetic attitude which the United States Government has displayed towards Latvia in the past and the application by the United States to Latvia of the principles set forth in the Atlantic Charter.

Although Latvia unfortunately has limited material aid to give to the common cause since it is under Nazi occupation, it gladly offers such help as is available. (F. I. all Latvian Merchant Ships.)

**SOVIET GOVERNMENT ENDORSED THE ATLANTIC CHARTER ON SEPTEMBER 24, 1941, AS PROVED BY THE "TREATY OF ALLIANCE BETWEEN THE UNITED KINGDOM AND THE SOVIET UNION, AND IRAN," SIGNED AT TEHERAN ON JANUARY 29, 1942.**

There is printed below the text of the Treaty of Alliance between the United Kingdom and the Soviet Union, and Iran (with notes), which was signed at Teheran on January 29, 1942.\*

"His Majesty the King of Great Britain, Ireland and the British Dominions beyond the Seas, Emperor of India, and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, on the one hand, and His Imperial Majesty the Shahinshah of Iran, on the other :

*"Having in view the principles of the Atlantic Charter jointly agreed upon and announced to the world by the President of the United States of America and the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom on the 14th August, 1941, and endorsed by the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the 24th September, 1941, with which His Imperial Majesty the Shahinshah declares his complete agreement and from which he wishes to benefit on an equal basis with other nations of the world; and*

*"Being anxious to strengthen the bonds of friendship and mutual understanding between them; and*

*"Considering that these objects will best be achieved by the conclusion of a Treaty of Alliance;*

*"Have agreed to conclude a treaty for this purpose and have appointed as their plenipotentiaries."*

(etc. . . .)

---

\* The Department of State *Bulletin*, Vol. VI, No. 143—page 249.



**RIGHTS TO FREEDOM OF EVERY NATION—UNIVERSAL PRINCIPLE.**

**(Extract from The Honorable Sumner Welles' Decoration Day Speech, on May 30, 1942.\*)**

*The Honorable Sumner Welles* in his Decoration Day Speech on May 30, 1942, outlined the future of the World, securely based on the high principles of Democracy. It states, in part, as follows:

*"... If this war is in fact a war for the liberation of peoples, it must assure the sovereign equality of peoples throughout the world as well as in the world of the Americas. Our victory must bring in its train the liberation of all peoples. Discrimination between peoples because of their race, creed, or color must be abolished. The age of imperialism is ended. The right of a people to their freedom must be recognized as the civilized world long since recognized the right of an individual to his personal freedom. The principles of the Atlantic Charter must be guaranteed to the world as a whole—in all oceans and in all continents.*

*"And so in the fullness of God's time when the victory is won the people of the United States will once more be afforded the opportunity to play their part in the determination of the kind of world in which they will live. With courage and with vision they can yet secure the future safety of their country and of its free institutions and help the nations of the earth back into the paths of peace.*

*"Then on some future Memorial Day the American people, as they mark the graves of those who died in battle for their country in these last two World Wars, can at last truly say: 'Sleep on in quiet and in peace; the victory you made it possible for us to win has now been placed at the service of your country and of humanity; your sacrifice has not been made in vain'."...*

---

\* The Department of State *Bulletin*, Vol. VI. Page 485.

## SMALL COUNTRIES HAVE THE RIGHT TO LIVE.

Address made by His Excellency The Minister of Foreign Affairs of Luxembourg, Mr. Joseph Bech, before the Committee on Foreign Affairs, Wednesday, June 3, 1942.\*

"But in the Europe of tomorrow after the defeat of Germany, will small countries like Luxembourg have the right to live?"

"It may interest you to know the point of view of the representative of the smallest of allied countries on these questions—of a country which is in no way prepared to renounce its right to live after this war.

"The official Allied answer is of course laid down in the Atlantic Charter in general terms.

"As to the right of existence of small countries, I cannot do better than quote the words of President Roosevelt: 'We believe that any nationality, no matter how small, has the inherent right to its own nationhood.'

"These words of President Roosevelt and other similar expressions of Mr. Churchill form the backbone of the resistance of the small subjugated peoples on the Continent.

"Unofficially there are some who claim that even in a new world based on the rule of right, international policies will continue to be a game of power, and that small, weak, defenseless nations would continue in the world to be a menace to themselves as well as to others. They must not continue to be a temptation for potential aggressors. In other words, the price to be paid for stabilized peace in a new Europe is the disappearance of the small nations.

"It would certainly be a strange new world for which we are fighting, where the eventual victims of the beasts of prey must be sacrificed to prevent their being devoured.

"For my country, as for other small countries, what matters is not so much the question of being devoured by this or that particular animal, but not being devoured at all. Would it not be more logical and more acceptable from a moral point of view, and also more efficient, to draw the beast's fangs?"

"The condition *sine que non* of an assured European peace is the complete, controlled, and permanent disarmament of Germany. I have heard it said that this is impossible. But it is possible. It would have been possible after the last war if the will to do it had been there. I can tell you one thing, and that is: You may be sure that at this very moment Germany has already prepared her plans to disarm the whole world in the event of her being victorious.

"Let us never forget the fact that even a disarmed Germany of some 70,000,000 inhabitants will always be a greater menace to Europe than the so-called small nations. I say deliberately the so-called small nations. Indeed, what standards are we to apply to judge a nation small and defenseless in this blitzkrieg era, when nations which believed themselves strong and sufficiently armed were unable to resist the surprise attack of an aggressor, to whom

---

\* *Congressional Record*, Vol. 88, June 17, 1942, No. 114. Pages: A2457, A2459.

no principle, no law is sacred? Was Poland a small country? Was France a defenseless, small country? And who would dare to say, with the knowledge we now possess, that France's collapse was caused by the fact that between her and Germany there were Holland, Belgium, and Luxembourg—three small, neutral countries?

"It is not evident at this moment of the war that the Axis Powers had prepared their attack for many years—not to swallow small tempting morsels surrounding them, but to conquer empires and to achieve world domination?

"The true fact is that each one of the free and peace-loving countries, whether strong or weak, now fighting the Axis Powers had at one time or another during the period since the Manchukuo affair remained neutral in the face of flagrant aggression against another country.

"Rather is it the lack of solidarity between the defenders of peace—a solidarity operating automatically in the face of aggression and to the exclusion of all neutrality, which is the cause of our present troubles, than the existence of small countries. The League of Nations, which should have organized this solidarity, this collective security, did not succeed. The causes of this failure are manifold, the chief being that the member states of the League were not able to approach the vital problems which the League had to solve, from a supernational point of view.

"The League failed because the member States of the League were thinking on national terms.

"The future of Europe depends on its readiness to organize a union of nations, where each must be willing to sacrifice some part of its economic and political independence for the good of the community as a whole."

---

### STATUS OF AUSTRIA\*

#### Announcement of the Department of State.

Released to the Press  
on July 27, 1942.

At the Secretary's press conference on July 27 a correspondent stated that there appeared to be some confusion with respect to the view of this country as to the present status of Austria and asked for clarification on this point. The Secretary replied:

"It is probable that such confusion, if it exists, has arisen from administrative steps which may have been taken by this Government in pursuance of its own laws designed to afford adequate protection to this country's interests in dealing with the situation presented by the imposition of military control over Austria and residents of Austria by Germany. This Government very clearly made known its opinions as to the manner in which the seizure of Austria took place and the relation of that seizure to this Government's well-known policy toward the taking of territory by force. This Government has never taken the position that Austria was legally absorbed into the German Reich."

---

\* The Department of State *Bulletin* Vol. VII, No. 162, August 1, 1942, page 660.

**STATEMENT OF HON. F. BIDDLE, ATTORNEY GENERAL OF THE UNITED STATES.\*****History of the Communist Party—Its Aims and Purposes.**

... The Communist party of the United States, a section of the so-called "Third International", was founded in 1919; and, after its name was changed several times, finally became "The Communist party of the U.S.A." in 1929. The Third International advocated the class struggle, which was described as entering the phase of civil war in America. Illegal methods were also advocated, where necessary, to carry on its work; systematic agitation in the Army; the renouncing of patriotism; and the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism.

The American "section" adopted a program declaring:

"The Communist party will systematically and persistently propagate the idea of the inevitability of and necessity for violent revolution and will prepare the workers for armed insurrection as the only means of overthrowing the capitalist state."

The communist party teaches the violent overthrow of existing governments, including the United States. This concept reaches back to the famous Manifesto of Marx and Engels of 1848, which declares:

"The Communists disdain to conceal their views and aims; they openly declare that their ends can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions." In "The Thesis and Statutes of the Third International" (1920) this doctrine is expanded. "The mass struggle means a whole system of developing demonstrations growing ever more acute in form, and logically leading to an uprising against the capitalistic order of government." Lenin speaks of the necessity of violent revolution.

This and much other documentary evidence introduced by the government, and the oral evidence of a number of witnesses to the same effect, who testified that the Communist party of the United States had indoctrinated its members with these purposes establishes, as Judge Sears concludes, that it is an organization that advises, advocates and teaches the overthrow, by force and violence, of the Government of the United States.

The evidence also sustained the government's contention that the party writes, circulates, distributes, prints, publishes and displays printed matter advising such overthrow, so that the party comes within the purview of the statute. This also Judge Sears found.

---

\* *Congressional Record*, 104, July 21, 1942, Vol. 88, p. p. 4967-4972.

### **Penetrative Activities of the Communist Party.**

Penetration into trade unions was strongly emphasized in Communist literature, and conversion of their members by constant agitation and propaganda. Reforms in the labor movement should be accepted as screens behind which revolutionary activities could be carried on. To carry out this program the Trade Union Educational League was formed about 1921, for the purpose of infiltration into the A.F. of L. unions, of "boring from within". "Fractions" were organized within particular unions to advance the aims of communism behind the "front" of education. The union was the American affiliate of the Red International of labor unions, which was the trade-union bureau of the Comintern.

The league was to compel its party members to join labor unions; the party was to engage in strikes and wage movements, to war against class collaboration plans, and to organize the unorganized.

In 1929 the Trade Union Educational League became the Trade Union Unity League, which began a new program of organizing directly its revolutionary industrial union controlled directly by the Communist party. Its official publication was Labor Unity, of which the government witness, Nat Honig, was for a time editor. The T.U.U.L., as it was called, openly supported and was dominated by the Communist party.

The Trade Union Unity League chartered the Marine Workers' Industrial Union in 1930. The government contended that Bridges was a member of or affiliated with this union during the years 1932, 1933 and 1934. This union included both seamen and longshoremen in its membership, contrary to the craft type of organization of the A.F. of L. It was liquidated in 1935.

Judge Sears found, and I concur in the finding, that affiliation with or membership in the Marine Workers' Industrial Union was grounds for deportation."

### **Front Organizations.**

Testimony on "front organizations" showed that they were represented to the public for some legitimate reform objective, but actually used by the Communist party to carry on its activities pending the time when the Communists believe they can seize power through revolution. The party took control of the Workers Alliance as a medium through which to organize the unemployed, "to develop widespread militant mass struggles", and "to build the revolution" through association in "a militant class-conscious unemployed organization."

Other Communist front organizations were the International Labor Defense, whose immediate purpose was to defend Communists, but among whose members were many non-Communists unaware of its Communist control; the All-American Anti-Imperialist League, the American Negro Labor Congress and the American League Against War and Fascism.

**Findings of Fact.**

3. That the Communist party of the U.S.A., from the time of its inception in 1919 to the present time, is an organization that believes in, advises, advocates, and teaches the overthrow by force and violence of the Government of the United States.

4. That the Communist party of the U.S.A., from the time of its inception to the present time, is an organization that writes, circulates, distributes, prints, publishes, and displays printed matter advising, advocating, or teaching the overthrow by force and violence of the Government of the United States;

5. That the Communist party of the U.S.A., from the time of its inception to the present time, is an organization that causes to be written, circulated, distributed, printed, published, and displayed printed matter advising, advocating and teaching the overthrow by force and violence of the Government of the United States.

6. That the Communist party of the U.S.A., from the time of its inception to the present time, is an organization that has in its possession for the purpose of circulation, distribution, publication, issue and display, printed matter advising, advocating and teaching the overthrow by force and violence of the Government of the United States. . . .

**GENERAL-DIRECTORATE IMPOSED ON LATVIA BY NAZI-GERMANS—ILLEGAL, NULL AND VOID AND VIOLATES SOVEREIGN RIGHTS OF LATVIA.**

**Statement of Dr. Alfred Bilmanis, the Latvian Minister in Washington, D. C.**

Released to the Press  
on July 28, 1942.

Information has been received by me to the effect that the official publication of the Nazi military forces in Latvia, the so-called "Deutsche Zeitung im Ostland" has published on May 10, 1942, an official communique of the Nazi "General-Kommissar of Latvia", announcing the commissioning and installation of a "General-Directorium" for Latvia, composed, according to the above dispatch, of the following Latvians: the former Latvian General Oscar Dankers, as "General-Direktor of the Interior"; Woldemars Zagars, "G-D of Economy"; Janis Skujevics, as "G-D of Finance"; the former Latvian Minister of Finance, dismissed in 1939 by the President—Alfred Waldmanis, as "G-D of Justice"; Martins Primanis as "G-D of Education"; Oscar Leimanis as "G-D of Communications"; and Peters Vanags as "Chief Comptroller".

O. Dankers and M. Primanis had left Latvia with the repatriated Latvian Germans early in 1940 and consequently had lost their Latvian citizenship. They had been sent back to Latvia by orders of the Nazis to assume duties in the administration imposed upon Latvia by German military forces.

The other members of this Nazi-dominated "General-Directorium" are all former Latvian Government employees and officials, and most of them were actively associated with the Bolshevik regime imposed on Latvia by the armed invasion of Soviet Russia in June, 1940.

I wish to state most emphatically that the installation of this puppet regime of the Nazi dominated and Nazi controlled "General-Directorium", represents nothing but a further reckless violation and usurpation of the sovereign rights of the Republic of Latvia by the brutal Nazi invaders and that the "General-Directorium" has been installed in order to clothe with this transparent camouflage the real purposes of Nazi Germany—the perpetual enslavement, the oppression and exploitation of Latvia.

All of the acts of this "General-Directorium", imposed upon Latvia by a foreign and hostile invader, are, necessarily, illegal, null and void, as contrary to and in violation of the sovereign rights of the Republic of Latvia, and of the precepts of international law, observed by all civilized nations.

As a willing tool of the Nazi military forces, this "General-Directorium" cannot presume to represent the Latvian State or the Latvian Nation in any way whatsoever, and the Latvian Nation does not place the slightest trust or confidence in this Nazi puppet regime, which has been organized to attempt the complete subjugation of Latvia.

I wish to state unconditionally—regardless of the delusions that the Nazi-appointed General Directors may have about their motives—all of their actions are eo ipso illegal and in violation of the fundamental rights and interests of the Latvian Nation, amounting in effect, to the sacrifice of and treason to the Sovereign State and people of Latvia.

In ruthless violation of international law and with contemptuous disregard of human rights, all Latvian men and young women between the ages of 21 and 29 were forcibly mobilized and sent to Germany for "Labor-Service" soon after the installation of the "General-Direktorium", since the volunteer plan of the Nazis had failed completely.

I should also like to state again that the so-called "Latvian-Soviet Government in Exile", which was formed by Soviet Russia in complete violation of Latvian sovereign rights after Soviet Russia's unprovoked military aggression against Latvia, continues to be maintained by Soviet Russia in violation of the Atlantic Charter and Soviet Russia's treaty obligations.

According to recent press dispatches delegates of this Soviet-controlled "Latvian Soviet Government" have participated in the recent Soviet Congress and this action of the Soviet usurpers is distorted and maliciously misrepresented by the official Soviet press as proof that Latvians consider themselves as belonging to Soviet Russia. The above Soviet-organized and Soviet-controlled illegal and usurpatory group in Kuibishev does not and cannot in any way and sense represent the Latvian State and the Latvian Nation, and all of its acts are also illegal, null and void.

In conclusion, I should like to state, that as the legal representative of the Government of Latvia, I am voicing the true interests and lawful rights of the Republic of Latvia in denouncing all attempts of Nazi-Germany and Soviet Russia to impose enslavement, oppression and exploitation upon the Latvian Nation, whether under direct threats and application of ruthless force, or under the guise of conspiracy, fraud and deceit.

Latvia remains unshaken in her belief that the dictatorships of the Axis powers will be inevitably and most conclusively defeated and that independence and democracy will be restored to all nations of the world.

DR. ALFRED BILMANIS  
Latvian Minister.



## THE LATVIAN WORLD ALLIANCE FOR ADHERENCE TO THE DECLARATION BY UNITED NATIONS.

Released to the Press  
on April, 1942.

*The Latvian World Alliance* was founded at a meeting which convened on April 23, 1942, at the Hotel MacAlpin in New York City. Many Latvians participated at this meeting, representing various branches of Latvian economic and social life. Most of them were refugees from Latvia.

Any person who is a citizen of the Republic of Latvia or any individual of Latvian nationality may become a member of the Latvian World Alliance, for the purpose of promoting and furthering the aims of this Organization. A stipulation is provided in the By-Laws of the organization to the effect that non-Latvians may be elected as honorary members and sponsors.

The following chief aims of the Latvian World Alliance were set forth:

To further and promote the legitimate rights and demands of the Latvian Nation for liberty and independence, for freedom from all foreign aggression and domination, and for a democratic national self-government, to be enjoyed by Latvia in honorable equality and association with other free and independent States.

To foster and promote the traditional friendship existing between the peoples of the United States of America, and the other Democracies of the world, and Latvia.

To uphold and to give full support to the President and the Government of the United States and to the Democracies of the World in the struggle to deliver humanity from the horrors of totalitarian aggression.

*To give full approval to the adherence of Latvia to the Declaration of United Nations.*

To indorse and sustain every endeavor for the effectuation and realization of the principles of the Atlantic Charter and for their application in the case of Latvia.

To spread knowledge of the cultural and economic achievements of the independent democratic Latvian Nation.

To establish contact with Latvians and Latvian organizations throughout the world. To do all things, make any and all contacts and use all legitimate facilities and means necessary, convenient or incidental to the furthering of the purposes set forth herein.

The Latvian World Alliance is created and shall be operated exclusively for the purposes hereinabove set forth and not for pecuniary profit.

*Mr. Harry W. Lielnors*, a prominent Latvian patriot and well known Latvian social worker in New York, was elected President of the Alliance. *Mr. J. Dannenbergs*, representative of the Latvian Jewish community, was elected first Vice-President; *Mr. K. Dikerts*,

a member of the Latvian colony in New York, was elected second Vice-President; *Mr. A. Grinsteins*, Treasurer; *Rabbi A. Mindels*, Secretary.

The address of the Latvian World Alliance is as follows:

LATVIAN WORLD ALLIANCE,  
92 LIBERTY STREET,  
NEW YORK, N. Y.,  
U. S. A.

---

### LATVIAN RELIEF, INC.

On September 22nd, 1941, a Certificate of Incorporation of the Latvian Relief, Inc. has been perfected in New York State.

The purpose of this humanitarian organization is to relieve and mitigate human suffering of Latvian subjects throughout the world, by furnishing funds for medicine or surgical aid and assistance, food and clothing, or the means to obtain same, or by any other similar method: to solicit, collect and distribute, directly or indirectly, funds and contributions of money, personal services, food, clothing and other property appropriate and convenient to the effectuation of the general purposes of that corporation.

Latvian Relief, Inc. is organized and will be operated exclusively for charitable purposes.

#### Board of Directors.

President—*Mr. Robert H. Law, Jr.*, American Lawyer, Legal Adviser of the Latvian Legation.

Vice President—*Mr. J. Dannenbergs*, Representative of the Latvian Jewish Community.

Treasurer—*Mr. John Lenow*, President of the Latvian Society in New York.

Secretary—*Mr. Harry W. Lielnors*, President of the Latvian World Alliance.

The address of the Latvian Relief, Inc. is as follows:

LATVIAN RELIEF, INC.  
92 LIBERTY STREET,  
NEW YORK, N. Y.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY IN ENGLISH.

APSE, Jan

1940. *The Baltic Countries*, London.

BILMANIS (al. Bihlmans), Alfred, Dr.

1928. *Latvia in the Making*, Riga.

1941. *Latvia in the Present World Crisis*, Washington.

1942. *Three Stars Between the Anvil and Hammer—  
Latvia and her Baltic Neighbors*, Washington.

EKIS, L. (former Latvian Minister of Finance and Envoy in Kaunas  
Warsaw, Bucharest, Budapest and Ankara)

1942. *Latvia's Struggles for Independence*,  
(mimeographed), published by the Press Bureau of the  
Latvian Legation, Washington.

GRAHAM, Malbone W.

1941. *The Diplomatic Recognition of the Border States,  
Part III: Latvia*, University of California Press, Los  
Angeles.

KRAUS, René

1942. *Europe in Revolt*, New York.

LATVIAN INFORMATION BULLETIN (mimeographed), month-  
ly, published by the Press Bureau of the Latvian Legation,  
Washington.

LITHUANIAN SITUATION, THE (mimeographed), monthly, is-  
sued by the Lithuanian Legation, Washington.

OFFICIAL BLUE-WHITE BOOK OF FINLAND,

1941. New York.

PAKSTAS, Kazys, Professor

1941. *The Lithuanian Situation*, published by the Lithuanian  
Cultural Institute, Chicago.

1942. *The Balto-Scandian Confederation*, published by the  
Lithuanian Cultural Institute, Chicago.

POLISH FORTNIGHTLY REVIEW,

1941. published by the Polish Ministry of Information, London.

PUSTA, R. K. (former Foreign Minister of Estonia and Envoy in  
many countries).

1942. *The Soviet Union and the Baltic States*, New York.

THE SOVIET UNION, FINLAND AND THE BALTIC STATES,

1941. published by the "Soviet War News", London.

URCH, R.O.G. (*The London Times* correspondent in Riga, Warsaw;  
at present in Stockholm.)

1938. *Latvia, Country and People*, London.





~~875 JUL 22~~

